



THE
CORRESPONDENCE
OF
PHILIP SIDNEY
AND
HUBERT LANGUET



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INTRODUCTION



INTRODUCTION

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PHILIP SIDNEY first met Hubert Languet in the house of Andreas Wechel, the Protestant printer, at Frankfort. The meeting took place early in the autumn of 1572. Sidney was then in his eighteenth year, and fresh from Oxford and his first glimpse of court life. He had left England in May to enter upon that period of study and travel abroad which was beginning to be regarded as essential to the complete education of every well-born young Englishman who looked forward to a public career in his own country. Both he and Languet had recently been in Paris, where they had witnessed the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew. But while Sidney, safely hidden in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham, the English Resident Minister, encountered no real peril during the seven days of slaughter, Languet, who had incurred hostility by his open advocacy of the Huguenots, narrowly escaped death. The latter was fifty-four at this time, but the long years of arduous labour as diplomatic agent and envoy had not altered a generous and even genial disposition, or rendered an unusually warm heart less responsive to the appeal of youth. Languet stated that he was first drawn

tro-
uction to Sidney by a perception of intellectual promise in the lad, and by a presentiment of the part that one so endowed by nature and favoured by fortune might well come to play in the European drama. Perhaps he even represented to himself the opportunity thus offered him, not only to form such a future leader in accordance with his own conception of what Protestant leadership should be, but, in still bolder speculation, to make him the instrument by means of which England, the laggard nation, might, in time, be stirred to shake off her lethargy, and become the champion of the reformed cause. Such considerations, however, soon became secondary as Languet passed more and more under the spell of that "high and excellent spirit," that strong personal charm, which, even thus early, Sidney was beginning to cast over all who approached him. The latter could only have been flattered by the consideration shown him by a distinguished man so much his senior. He had come abroad for such intercourse with those who could school him in the affairs of Europe, and he found in Languet a preceptor who seemed as eager to teach as he himself was to listen and learn. But it was not long before Sidney forgot the master in the friend whom, in spite of the difference in their years, he could still address as "Hubert."

Languet, the son of a Burgundian gentleman,

was a Protestant neither by inheritance nor by early education. Although a lively interest in the currents of religious controversy soon shook the bases of his Catholic belief and left him in a state of doubt and indecision, his change of faith did not occur definitely until he was nearly thirty years of age. By that time he had already travelled extensively and taken his degree at the University of Padua. He was still pursuing his legal studies in Italy, when he happened to read a treatise which convinced him by its clear and candid exposition of theological problems. The author was Melancthon. Languet was eager to meet the man of whom he afterwards wrote to Camerarius that "among all the doctors of the faith he seemed to me the only one who sincerely sought truth and sound religion;" and as there remained several points on which he required fuller light, he resolved to go to Wittenberg. The result of this visit was that he not only became confirmed in his conversion, but entered into relations of the closest intimacy with Melancthon. The intercourse between them, which was founded as much upon temperamental attraction as upon intellectual sympathy, probably had no small share in shaping both Languet's convictions and his character. In a letter to Sidney, he himself refers to the trait of open-mindedness which his contemporaries attributed

tro- action to the influence of Melancthon: "I am no Stoic, nor do I hold that all sins are equal. But it is a fault of my countrymen, that if an eminent man errs in the smallest thing, they at once class him with the most abandoned of men." That Languet was far from being strict in this narrow sense, and that he was not at all embittered by public disappointments which he took as deeply to heart as if they had been private misfortunes, is proved by many a passage in his letters to Sidney. He stands forth therein as a type of devotion free from fanaticism, and of adherence to principle without taint of personal prejudice. The young Englishman found an admirable mentor in this kindly, tolerant, well-disposed man of the world, who, without laxness, could waive the right to pass judgement upon his fellow-men, and who, without cynicism, could write to Sidney concerning some slight which the latter had received: "I consider that in these days men do a great deal, if they do not actually betray their friends; any additional good feeling must be set down as clear gain, as something over and above the conditions of ordinary friendship." If, to such counsels, are added those that grew out of Languet's abhorrence of a desire for reputation based solely upon bloodshed, and of relaxed observance of the usages of civilized warfare, there can be little doubt that every native impulse in Sidney, of gentleness, generosity, and chivalry, found vital

reinforcement in the humane influences exerted Intro over him by his master, and thus, more remotely, duct by Melancthon himself.

From Frankfort, the two friends travelled together to Vienna, whither Languet was called to represent his patron, Augustus, Elector of Saxony, at the Imperial court. There Sidney remained until November of the following year, when he set out with a certain Count Hannau for Venice. This is the moment at which the letters begin. Languet at first wrote very frequently, and Sidney, both then and later, at longer and less regular intervals. Languet makes of this "neglect" an habitual subject of affectionate complaint. In their mutual reproaches and protestations, as well as in the terms of endearment which they employ towards each other, both writers adopt a language which, in this more reticent age, is associated with the sentiment of love rather than of friendship. Not that there is anything to offend the taste in this emotional expansiveness. Nothing could surpass the tact with which Sidney makes his offer of assistance to Languet, when he suspects that the note of depression detected in his friend's latest letter might have arisen from material necessities. And throughout Sidney's letters, on the personal side, there is that blending of solicitude and sentiment which exalted the boyish ideal of friendship.

ro-
ction Nor is the salt of humour absent from either Sidney or Languet. The latter was far from being a recluse. He had travelled extensively, lived much among men in courts and cities, and was a shrewd observer of national customs and characters. He liked good company, was not averse to the pleasures of the table, and was fond, it was said, of conversation which veered easily from matters of moment to jest and trifling. His letters, serious in the main, are spiced with pungencies of thought and expression. To the sallies of this seasoned scholar and statesman, Sidney, who, in spite of a taint of melancholy, had his share of boyish high spirits, responded with a gallant humour of hyperbole and exaggeration. When Languet, in a tone of banter, attacks the English, Sidney inveighs against the Burgundians in a similar strain. Many of the jests that pass between the two friends take this form of gibes against each other on national grounds. Nothing could be more characteristic of the cosmopolitan spirit of the age than such turning to matter of merriment, by two men of different birth, of those barriers which blood and centuries of separatism vainly interposed between them. Sidney, while proud of his own French strain, was a loyal and patriotic Englishman; and although so much of Languet's life was lived abroad in the service of foreign masters, he always remained at heart a Frenchman who, above all else, deplored the

ble state into which his "unhappy coun- Introduction
ad fallen. But neither the one nor the other
in that spirit of national rivalry and
iveness represented by Humfrey Lhuid,
"Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum"
e fire from Languet's reading-lamp and
early consumed. There is serious signifi-
in Languet's satirical amusement at the
se of German and Welsh chauvinism for
Lhuid affords him the opportunity.
sixteenth century north of the Alps is the
of contact between the modern and the
eval world, and the extraordinary confu-
f its political and religious struggles was
the clash between the not always peace-
cession of old forces and the impetus given
y ideas. Prominent among the latter was
imation of the consciousness of nations no
in the development of personality in the in-
al. Languet's cavalier treatment of Lhuid,
yled himself a "Cambro-Briton," is one of
e references in the literature of the age
ng both to the existence of this national-
tment among the learned, and to the an-
ism which it provoked in certain quarters,
ularly in the case of those who, with Lan-
saw the danger of ideas of this nature to
e like France welded out of radically dif-
component parts which had barely com-
their unity. If the structure of such a state

Intro- should be disrupted, the whole constructi-
duction tional work of the past would be undone.
there would be a rapid return to feudal dis-
Under such conditions further progress would
impossible. It is not strange, therefore, that
guet feared the growth of racial consciousness
since this promised to complete that work of
disintegration which the Reformation, with its
aftermath of religious dissensions and in-
cine strife, had already begun. What he un-
timated was the value of this newly awakened
sentiment as a force of resistance against the
gressive policies of Spain and of the papal power.
Had it not come into existence, a higher degree
of political unity might have been imposed on
a great part of Europe than ever before, but
through the iron domination of the Inquisition.
Yet in spite of this, there is a breadth in Lan-
guet's view altogether lacking in that of the
tunist statesmen and chauvinist preachers. The
growth of nationalism was inevitable and ne-
cessary, but it by no means constituted an end
itself. Progress consists not in raising barriers
between men, but in breaking them down. The
only civilization worthy of the name is that in
which each people and each nation brings its
contribution as to a common store, for the general
advancement of the race. Languet conceived
the states of Europe collectively as a Christian
commonwealth. In this he was the heir of

old imperial conception of the Middle Ages. Both he and Sidney are on the crest of that wave of mediaeval idealism spiritualized by humanistic culture, which breaks high up the slope of the modern time, and, for a moment, catches in its spray the gleam of new hopes and aspirations. But already in the world about them the waves recede, and despondently they see vanishing that vast conception of a common European polity and culture which both accepted unquestioningly as the condition precedent to all progress.

Languet depicts the physiognomy of the period in dark hues. "In your letters," says Sidney, "I fancy I see the picture of the age in which we live: an age that resembles a bow too long bent; it must be unstrung or it will break." The image is happily chosen to express the tension of the time. One great period had passed, another was preparing; and, in spite of Sidney's sanguine assertion that every wise man could see whither the rough storms were driving, it was easier to prophesy universal ruin than to tell what the precise issue would be. These letters reflect the distraught incertitude and feverish anxiety of the age of transition with dramatic intensity. They abound with detailed descriptions of contemporary events and with intimate portraits of prominent actors on the scene. But the principal interest of the letters is personal rather than historical. Their value for the student

Introduction lies less in the information they contain in what they reveal of the attitude of the spectators towards the vast and shifting spectacle. Of this they were no merely disinterested observers. On the contrary, every new development and combination held them in suspense through the consciousness that the cause at stake was their own. Whatever their intellectual superiority as men of wide reading and students of the past, they were in no sense touched with philosophic indifference. Languet may have been profoundly pessimistic, and inclined, as Sidney admonishes him, to surcharge his representations with shadows darker than the actual warranted, but he had not become sceptical. Both he and Sidney were distinctively men of their day, when reflection by no means excluded the possibility of action. Far from regarding themselves aloof from the age's activities, they desired nothing so much as to participate in these, to guide and to control them.

Languet, although a scholar and a man of letters, had, for years, occupied one post after another that kept him close to the great centre of public disturbance. Sidney, with the temperament of a poet and philosopher, was representative of the ruling class of England and looked forward, as a matter of course, to a career as statesman and soldier. At this time he was still in his period of preparation, but

mood was that of the young athlete who is with difficulty restrained from entering at once into competition with his elders. He was a gentleman with all that that word then implied of fine breeding, of courtly accomplishment and conduct. It is precisely because of this union of action, thought, and manners in Sidney, that so eminently modern a personality disengages itself from his letters. These are the first modern letters written by an Englishman. A century, or even fifty years, before, they would have been impossible, unless Sir Thomas More might have approximated them, so recent had been the realization of that composite type combining in complete and harmonious balance the several opposite and contrary characters of soldier, student, and courtier. In them is to be found the initial expression of a vital and many-sided attitude towards life, determined by the awakening of the mind to an interest in its environment as affording not only a theatre for action, but material for philosophic reflection and inquiry. Sidney was attracted, not to any one department of life alone, but to the whole of it. Nothing human seemed to him negligible or insignificant. Moreover, he saw the present in which he lived with such a sense of excitement, not as separated from the past by any arbitrary line of division, but as a prolongation of that past whose problems bore a distinct resemblance to those with

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duction

which his own age was confronted. It is this combination of an historic sense in Sidney above all, sets him apart from men of the preceding generation, and marks him as a man.

The letters testify to the fascination which history held for him. "I need not speak to you of reading history, by which more than any other men's judgements are shaped," writes Guet, "because your own inclination carried you to it, and you have made great progress. If men's judgements are thus shaped by history it is because this study enlarges their perspectives and gives them new and broader standards of comparison. For Sidney, first among Englishmen, was there a sensible widening of the horizon through historical research. His was not the mind matured and ripened by the results of his reading. His was rather the preluding of romance which the enthusiastic acquisition of new knowledge and of new viewpoints kindled in him. He was to die too soon to become a man fully fashioned for judgement whom Guet foresaw in the brilliant boy. But if there is a thrill in his letters such as that attending a discovery, it is because Sidney was indeed a discoverer, at whose feet a whole new world lay outspread.

At Venice, Sidney was advantageously placed to observe the course of events. The city

ated midway between east and west, afforded Intr a wide survey of the whole field. The moment duc was one of grave suspense in the Republic itself. If a mature man like Languet could conceive the possibility of the Turks becoming masters of the Mediterranean, it is not remarkable if Sidney, with the impressionability of youth in its first contact with the larger affairs of life, tended to magnify the immediate danger of all Italy falling prey to the Moslem. It is a curious reflection of his that, in this event, the Turks would be the principal sufferers, as the vices of the Italians would corrupt the conquerors, and so compass their downfall. Thus Italy, in Sidney's vision, would prove none other than that legendary princess, nourished on poisons until she herself became poisonous, whom the Indian queen sent as a Greek gift to Alexander. Though often boyish and crude, Sidney's comments on contemporary events are always interesting through what they reveal of the workings of his mind in this formative period. Naturally, the situation in the Low Countries claimed a great share of his attention. So far England had kept aloof from any active encouragement of the Flemish rebels, though, as Languet adroitly pointed out, if Spain succeeded in subjugating these, she would at once turn her victorious arms against Britain. Sidney must have chafed under these reflections upon the supineness of his country's statecraft,

Intro- and, even thus early, have begun to rev
duction his mind those more vigorous policies he
advocate once he had a voice in her c
Fulke Greville has related how Sidney con
a plan far bolder than any simple inter
in the conflict across the Channel, which
that Languet, with his narrower and less
native mind, could contemplate. His plan
attack Spain at home, or abroad in her va
suries overseas. It was this conception, no
that inspired Sidney's interest in the na
of the navigators whom he met later in E
And it is this conception, also, that give
fificance to that long letter, written after
turn, in which he announces Frobisher's su
discovery of a gold island in the North A
and eagerly asks Languet's advice about
ods of mining. The latter seems not to ha
cerned the real motive that underlay Sidn
terest in this matter, and admonishes him
what sorrowfully, as if he too had yielded
common lure. But it is easy to understand
justify on higher grounds Sidney's appr
of the importance of this discovery. For
proved authentic, it would have provide
land with the means she needed for s
enterprise as Sidney kept in mind.

The significance of the letters is by no
limited to what they reveal of the atti
the writers towards contemporary eve

equal interest is the relation of Sidney and Languet to the intellectual and social life of the age and to each other. Men of different nations, speech, and tradition, these friends were first drawn together through a consciousness of common interests transcending local differences. The way for such intercourse between Englishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, and Italians, first opened by the institution of chivalry and the church, had been further prepared by the gradual extension throughout Europe of common intellectual interests, by a common ideal of culture, and, above all, by a common medium of intercommunication. Latin, as the ancient bond uniting learned Europe, and transformed by the Renaissance from ecclesiastical to secular uses, was the tie permitting such friendship as that between Languet and Sidney, which the babel of modern tongues renders more difficult. Now such relations between foreigners are exceptional; then they were customary and characteristic. Society became cosmopolitan, and a traveller found himself welcomed wherever he went. When Sidney visited Italy, he carried with him many letters of introduction, and Languet encouraged him to keep up a correspondence with those whose acquaintance he had already formed in Vienna and elsewhere. It was at once honourable and useful to maintain epistolary relations with foreigners. Correspondents in the several capitals of Europe were important

Intro- sources of private information, indispensable
duction all who contemplated entering upon a public
reer. They could also extend hospitality to
traveller and furnish him with the means of
further enlarging his acquaintance. In this firm
masonry of cultivated cosmopolitan society
ney shared. He participated also in that intense
intellectual activity which filled Europe with
ferment of new ideas, and which comes out
the avidity for books displayed both in his
ters and in those of Languet. New works were
read as they were issued, and circulated with
prising rapidity when one considers the distance
between centres of learning in that day. The
Humphrey Lhuid's treatise was published in London
only the year before the letter in which
Languet refers to it was written.

As Sidney was in some sense Languet's pupil,
there is much discussion of a general literary and
intellectual nature, which casts light upon the
educational ideals of the age. It is interesting to
note that the place of importance which Languet
assigns to each study in outlining a scheme for
Sidney's education is determined by the
measure of its utility. For Languet's concept
was primarily a practical one, conforming to the
requirements of an age of action. Sidney was
to study only what was "essential." "I call the
things essential to you," he says, "which it is
creditable for a man of high birth not to know."

and which may, one day, be an ornament and a resource to you." Thus he discourages Sidney from proceeding too far with the study of geometry, partly because it is not likely to prove of much use to him, and partly because its difficulty will tend to deepen his inclination towards melancholy. To this deterrent counsel Sidney replies in one of those luminous phrases that reveal men as they are in the very attitude and gesture of their inward life: "I readily allow that I am often more serious than either my age or my pursuits demand; yet this I have learned by experience, that I am never less a prey to melancholy than when I am earnestly applying the feeble powers of my mind to some high and difficult subject."

In the same way, though he scrupulously abstains from advising Sidney in this instance, Languet rather discourages the study of Greek. "All the time you give to it will be lost to your Latin, which, though it is considered a less interesting language than Greek, is yet more important for you to know." One of the principal purposes of Sidney's foreign sojourn, as Languet reminds him, was to acquire facility in the expression of his ideas in the former language. Sidney asks for rules to guide him in the formation of an elegant Latin style, and Languet sends him to Cicero, though not without certain reservations which he may have imbibed from

Intro-
duction Erasmus, and which Sidney afterwards re-
in a letter to his brother Robert. Sidney's let-
to Languet, in spite of their spontaneity, c
and wideness of range, are to be regarded pa
as literary exercises, and Languet confesses
that much of his early importunity had b
merely the well-dissembled craft of the sch
master: "I was playing with you then, th
might move you to write, believing that
habit of writing was an important part of y
studies."

If there is a certain narrowness in the edu-
tional programme thus outlined, the explana-
lies in the fact that, in Languet's jealous e
Sidney was designed to be a statesman, perh
a "saviour of society," and he resented such
tellectual preoccupation as might compro
this main end of his education. It was certa
not to Languet that Sidney owed any enr
ment of his mind in the field of poetry or
lite letters, ancient or modern, during his year
the Continent. And if, as is probable, Sidney
the intervals of his more serious studies, for
that extensive acquaintance with Italian poe
and critical treatises which he displays in
"Defense of Poesie," he was sufficiently guar-
to conceal the fact from his friend, whose w
of sympathy with such divagations he doubt
divined from the start. How Languet felt towa
the frivolities of the fashionable literary soci

of the Euphuists at the Court of Elizabeth, of which he saw something on his one visit to England, may be seen in that letter, among the most curious in the collection, wherein he solemnly dissuaded Sidney from wasting the flower of his life "in pursuits which only enervate the mind."

There is little in the letters to help the reader to reconstruct the world of Sidney's social and literary associations in Venice. The art of letter-writing had not become sufficiently elastic in the sixteenth century to serve as a vehicle for the diurnal and familiar, although there are little traits of observation, minor personal and human touches, scattered here and there throughout the letters for whoever is on the alert to distinguish them. The rhetorical Ciceronianism of the preceding age had already given way to a more natural, nervous, and energetic style, through which the epistolary form gradually adapted itself to actual needs of intercommunication. At the same time, it did not lose a charming consciousness of its humanistic origin as a fine art, recovered, with all other forms of beauty and eloquence, from antiquity. This consciousness fostered in those who practised the art, even for the most commonplace purposes, a certain scrupulous care as to style and expression. It also imposed upon them, at the same time, a constraint to avoid, as far as possible, what was merely trivial and tem-

tro- porary. Sidney mentions the names of some of
uction his friends who were likewise friends of Lan-
guet's,—Du Ferrier, for example, and a Venetian,
Zindelini, afterwards a friend and correspondent
of Sir Henry Savile,—but he gives no details of
the banquets and other “magnificent magnifi-
cences of all these magnificos” of which he con-
fesses himself soon weary. Nor is there anything,
as there would have been a century, or a cen-
tury and a half, later, when the sentiment of
the picturesque began to pervade society and to
find its peculiar outlet in letters of foreign travel,
about the city itself; though it is inferred, from
a remark of Languet's, that Sidney, in a letter
which has been lost, expressed sore disappoint-
ment at the reality, where the reputation had
led him to expect so much. For the Italians, even
for the Venetians, he had little liking, and, writ-
ing to Robert, he expresses Languet's opinion
that “most of them carry more on the surface
than they have within, and they very generally
spoil their attainments by display, and make
themselves offensive.” Still, as he loved Italian
literature, he must have found interest in his in-
tercourse with poets and men of letters. Though
there is nothing to confirm the legend that he
met Tasso in Padua, he may well have seen him
there together with many others scarcely less
famous in their day. Among the artists he knew
at least Tintoretto and Paolo Veronese, “who.”

he says, "hold by far the highest place in art." Intro
duc
His one reference to them, however, is not such as to indicate any especial connoisseurship, since it merely occurs in connection with the choice of an artist to paint the portrait for which Languet had asked. He finally posed for Veronese, just as Languet, years before, had posed for Paolo's master, Titian. Neither of these portraits, so far as is known, survives.

Returning to Vienna, Sidney devoted himself once more to his studies, under the eye of Languet. When the Emperor set out for Prague, both friends accompanied the court and were present at the opening of the Diet. But Sidney's leave of absence had now expired, and he returned to England, where he arrived on May 31, 1575, after an absence of three years. The correspondence was at once resumed after the parting, and continued to the time of Languet's death. In it there are glimpses of many of the principal incidents of Sidney's life at this period—his visit to Ireland, his promotion to a place of importance at the court, his quarrel with Oxford, his letter to Elizabeth on the French marriage, and his subsequent retirement for a time because of the Queen's displeasure. Twice the exchange of letters was interrupted: once when, in September, 1578, Sidney was sent as special envoy to carry to the new Emperor, Rudolph, messages of condolence on his father's death; and again, two and a half

tro- years later, when Languet visited England with
uction Prince Casimir. On both of these occasions, Sidney saw much of his old friend. In Germany, Languet made him some mysterious proposal "at the mouth of the Main." The precise nature of this is unknown, but it seems probable from a comparison of passages in several letters, that it involved an offer to Sidney of the hand of a German princess. It certainly can have had nothing to do with the wild legend that the Polish crown was at one time offered to Sidney, since Stephen Bathori was then in undisputed possession of the throne in Poland. It is, perhaps, significant in this connection, to note the frequency with which Languet refers to Sidney's celibacy. The arguments advanced by the warm-hearted old bachelor against this estate are of a domestic rather than of a political nature, and hint at a sense of loneliness in his own life that goes far toward explaining the strength of his attachment to men like Sidney and Mornay, whom he loved to regard as his sons. Yet occasionally it would seem as if Languet were sounding Sidney's "intentions," and it may well be that he had in mind some political alliance to be cemented by matrimony.

After his return from England, Languet accepted a post by the side of the Prince of Orange, whom he assisted in many ways, and for whom he may even have written the "Apology." But

the burden of work began to bear heavily upon the old man. In 1581, charged by his master with a mission to the German princes, he was forced, through consciousness of failing strength, to decline the arduous honour. He was then sixty-three years of age. On September 20, he was taken with a chill as he entered the Prince's house at Antwerp. Ten days later he died, cared for tenderly to the end by Madame de Mornay, the wife of that other friend, the writer, Philip Duplessis, who shared with Sidney a common affection. Languet's last request to Mornay was "*qu'au premier livre qu'il mettroit en lumière, il feroit mention de leur amitié.*" This injunction was loyally carried out by the author of "*La Vérité de la Religion Chrétienne,*" who rendered a noble tribute to Languet in the preface to the Latin edition of that treatise. For Sidney's acknowledgement of all that he owed to his old master, one must turn to "*The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia,*" where the melancholy young shepherd, Philisides, Sidney himself, tells the courtly company of the song he sang to his sheep, and praises the elder shepherd from whom he learned it:

The song I sang old Lanquet had me taught,
Lanquet, the shepherd best swift Ister knewe,
For clerkly rede, and hating what is naught,
For faithfull heart, cleane hands, and mouth as
true:

With his sweet skill my skillesse youth he drewe,

tro-
uction To have a feeling tast of him that sitts
Beyond the heaven, far more beyond your
witts.

He said, the Musique best thilke powers pleasd
Was jumpe concord between our wit and will:
Where highest notes to godliness are raisd,
And lowest sinke not downe to iote of ill:
With old true tales he woont mines eares to fill,
How shepheards did of yore, how now they
thrive,
Spoiling their flock, or while twixt the they
strive.

He liked me, but pitied lustfull youth:
His good strong staffe my slippry yeares upbore:
He still hop'd well, because he loved truth:
Till forste to parte, with harte and eyes even
sore,
To worthy Coridon he gave me o'er.

W. A. B.

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND
HUBERT LANGUET

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF
SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND
HUBERT LANGUET

* * *

Languet to Sidney

WHAT care and anxiety, nay, what fear had you spared me, if you had written to me only once or twice on your journey! I did not desire a laboured letter, only a word or two, as, "This day we arrived here in safety," or the like. You remember how earnestly I begged this of you when you were leaving me. But you will say, "It matters little to you whether you hear or not: when I arrive at Padua or Venice, then I will write to you." You might have done both, and if you had, I should have thought myself greatly obliged by you. However, I would rather suppose that you have met no one to whom you could trust a letter for me, than either that you disregard your promises, or that your affection for me has begun to fail. That it was strong when you left me, I knew by the tears which hardly suffered you to say farewell. I forgive you this crime, and every other which you shall henceforth commit against me, if you will only be careful not to let your thirst for learning and

guet acquiring information lead you into danger.
idney You remember how often and how solemnly
you have promised me to be cautious. If you
fail in this, I shall charge you with a breach of
the contract that is between us, and you will be
forced to confess that you have broken the terms
of our friendship. To offend me is of little conse-
quence, but reflect how grievously you would
be sinning against your excellent Father, who
has placed all his hopes in you, and who, being
now in the flower of life, expects to see the full
harvest of all those virtues which your character
promises so largely to produce. Satan is begin-
ning to gnash the teeth, because he sees that his
throne is tottering. Things do not turn out to his
mind either in France or Belgium, wherefore we
cannot doubt but he will stir up his servants to
acts of cruelty; hitherto this has been his only
means of maintaining and upholding his king-
dom, and so I am sure that if you trust yourself
to their honour now, you will run a greater risk
than you would have run a few years ago. Par-
don the love which makes me so often remind
you of this. But enough of such grave discourse.

I send you an epistle of Pietro Bizarro of Pe-
rugia, that you may have before your eyes his
surpassing eloquence, and make it your model.
You will now perceive how unwisely you Eng-
lish acted in not appreciating all this excellence,
and not treating it with the respect it deserves.

You judged yourselves unworthy of immortality, which he surely would have bestowed on you by his eloquence, if you had known how to use the fortunate opportunity of earning the good-will of such a man. How much better we Saxons have done. We have shown more judgment in an hour than you in fifteen long years. We saw at once how to gain his favour, and did not lose the chance. Show me any one of your countrymen of whom he thinks so highly, as of the person to whom this letter is addressed, and from whom I stole it, for your amusement and gratification. Take care to use it discreetly, and do not put your hand in the wasps' nest, and so give me trouble. I will give you leave to cull a few flowers from it, which will serve for the adornment of your letter if you should ever write to the author. He certainly deserves to be painted in his own colours. I sent your letter to the noble Baron Schuendi, and begged him to answer it. I hope he will do so. Farewell, and greet your people from me.

Vienna, November 19, 1573.

NAY, but I do not say, "It matters little to you whether you hear or not," for I am well aware how that "love is full of anxious fear." But this I will say, and say with truth, that I met literally no one who was going towards Vienna. But inasmuch as you tacitly charge me with some slackening of the affection with which I have regarded and ever shall regard you and all your noble qualities, while I acknowledge your kindness, I beg of you seriously and earnestly, that whatever be the distance which separates us, you will be satisfied of this, that I am not so possessed either with the folly of a boy, or the inconstancy of a woman, or the ingratitude of a brute, as not to seek eagerly the friendship of such a man, and hold it fast when I have gained it, and be thankful for it as long as I have it. I would I were sufficiently at home in Latin, or you in English; you should see what a scene I would make of these suspicions of yours.

Since I came to Venice, I have received two letters from you, and I have written two before this; will you agree that we shall hold converse by letters once a week? I will give heed to that which you say about danger as I do to all your advice. You will, however, as I told you in my last letter, very soon have me with you. I read

through the charming epistle of Pietro Bizarro Landi of Perugia, and culled certain flowers, which, to S as I could do nothing better, I imitated. I have written only once as yet to Master Vulcobius. I will write to him oftener when I have somewhat improved my style; in the mean time greet him and Master Bouchetell in my name. The French ambassador received me with great kindness. Perrot has returned into France, but his brother read the letter. Lasczky is gone into Poland. Of the Dane I have heard nothing as yet. Pray write me soon about yourself, and tell me when his Majesty of Poland intends to relieve France of his presence, that I may make preparations for my journey. Farewell, yours heartily.

Philip Sidney.

Venice, December 5, 1573.

III

Languet to Sidney

I WAS meditating a very sharp remonstrance, when the letter came in, which you wrote on your arrival at Venice: that at once dispersed the cloud from my mind, and made me happy indeed, for I learned from it that you had reached your journey's end in safety, and had not forgotten me. I was delighted, too, with your pro-

guet
idney

mise not to lose any opportunity of writing to me. See you fulfil it. I am glad you find that I only spoke truth of the courtesy of the Count of Hannau and his party. My object in writing to him was merely to give you an occasion of meeting those who can admire and love goodness wherever they find it, because I am sure that your character will at once make them your friends, and wherever you go, you will always find good men who will receive you with hearty kindness, if only you are true to yourself, and do not permit yourself to be transformed into another person.

In a former letter I told you that the seventeenth of January was named for the inauguration of the King of Poland, for which immense preparations are being made at Cracow. I am at present intent on making friends for you there, so that if you have not changed your mind, when you arrive there, you may find those who will pay you the attentions which your worth deserves. We suppose that the King of Poland has by this time reached the frontiers of the empire, but we cannot say it for certain. He has sent an envoy to invite the Emperor and the King of Hungary to the coronation. I hope you will deal plainly with me, and if you have made any new arrangements for your movements since you were here, you will let me know. I do not ask you to do anything for my pleasure, which does

seem agreeable and useful to yourself. Nor I wish you to consider yourself tied by any promise made to me, except that which binds you to take good care of your health and well-being, and not to follow your own inclinations, the arguments of those who make light of the risk you will run if you go to the place we have so often talked about. On this point I will stand by my right, and if you fail of your promise, I will complain to our common friends, in whose good opinion you would be sorry to lose ground. In every other matter, I will waive my right, and be as indulgent as possible. I should have stayed here through the winter, but that I hoped to see you, or at least converse with you at a moderate distance by letter.

I am much obliged to Master Coningsby for procuring me the good-will of your people, by claiming a great deal of kindness which he never received from me. I wish I could do anything for him worthy of his goodness. Pray give service to him, and also to Master Brusket, whom I am greatly obliged for conducting you to Venice in safety. About the money which was paid twice to your host, I advise you to proceed thus. Let Master Coningsby write to him, and explain the whole affair, how it took place, and let him have his letter translated into German. If the man has any shame, he will restore what he took from you unfairly. I do not under-

Languet
to Sidney

ey to stand the case, and your letter does not fully
gnet explain it, so I should lose my labour if I tried
to deal with him, and therefore I will wait for
your next. I beg you will not show anyone the
foolish letters I send to you. I write without se-
lection all that my mind in its changing moods
suggests to me, and it is enough for me if I suc-
ceed in making you believe that you are very
dear to me. I hope you will tell me what you
think of the persons to whom I gave your let-
ters. Farewell.

Vienna, December 4, 1573.

IV

Sidney to Languet

YOUR letter of the fourth of December arrived yesterday. It brings me another instance of your singular affection for me, which suffers all suspicions to be removed by one short note. And now about my own affairs. If the King's inauguration is to take place so soon, it is impossible I should be there; but if it should be put off for a month or two, then if it please God, I will surely come. I am sorry that various engagements so hamper me, that I must be absent from a place where there is so much to be seen and learnt. But however it may turn out

v, in the spring I shall make the tour of all Sidney to
t country with the noble Count of Hannau, Languet
o tells me that he too intends to leave Italy
go into Poland, Bohemia, and your own Sax-
r. And then, my very dear Languet, I shall
you, and one conversation with you would
e me more delight than all the magnificent
gnificences of all these magnificos.
eantime I shall stay here for a fortnight, and
s the rest of my time at Padua. At present
n learning the sphere, and a little music. My
a I only practise when I write to you; but in
h I begin to find that by writing ill I only
n to write ill, and therefore I wish you would
e me some rules for improving my style, and
he same time you may send me those other
monitions which you said you had put off till
ould come to you; for I am sure that you
l never exhaust your stock of counsel, and
t my blunders will give ample scope for your
ures. I have sold all the horses; if I had not,
y were not good enough to be worth their
t in keeping. For yours I received twenty
wns, which I owe you, with many other debts.
to the money which they took twice at
chell's, I did not mention it to give you
y trouble about it, but only to exculpate Co-
gsby, whom I formerly charged wrongfully
h the act. We should only make ourselves
culous if we said anything to our host about

they to it, for the man who had impudence enough to
guet take the money twice, will have more than
enough to deny it. When you tell me the proper
time, I will procure a present for Master Abon-
dius, and I shall be glad to know how he has been
going on. I wish you would send me Plutarch's
works in French, if they are to be bought in Vi-
enna; I would gladly give five times their value
for them, and you will be able to send them
no doubt by the hand of some trader. Tell me,
too, in your next, if you have got *L' Historia del
mondo di Tarchagnota, Lettere de Principi, Let-
tere de tredici illustri homini, Imprese di Giro-
lamo Ruscelli, Il stato di Vinegia scritto da Con-
tarini e da Donato Gianotti*. All of these are in-
teresting books, and if there are any others you
would like to have, I can easily have them sent
to you. There is one thing more which I have
often wished to ask of you, but shame has al-
ways prevented me; however, as Cicero says,
"a letter doth not blush." I have a very strong
desire to possess your history of the Polish elec-
tion, which you once were good enough to show
me. I pray and beseech you either to send it
to me now, or at least when you write again, to
pledge me your word that you will give it me
when we meet in Germany, when you must
add something else of yours by way of interest.

Many rumours are going about here. Amongst
others, the principal thing reported is, that there

is to be a league between the Spaniard and the Turk, or once more between the Turk and the Venetians, or between the Turk, the Queen of England, the King of Poland, and your Elector of Saxony. Are you not amused to find that we Saxons begin to moslemize? All this I have been told by a sensible and trustworthy man. May God grant you long life for my sake. Farewell, wholly yours,

Ph. Sidney.

Venice, December 19, 1573.

Coningsby and Brusket greet you as their best friend and patron. Witfeld I cannot find; Lasczky is, I hear, in Poland, Perrot in France. All the others are excellent men and my very good friends.

V

Languet to Sidney

I TOLD you in a former letter that the Emperor and the King of Hungary were invited to the inauguration of the Polish King, and that a young Pole had come hither for that purpose. I heard that he was a man of understanding, and I took pains to become known to him. I easily made his acquaintance, and even formed an intimacy with him, and I hope I may now call him my friend. I was particularly desirous

guet things with a high hand. The Spaniard seems to
idney be playing a part unworthy of his dignity, and
by no means consistent with the great hopes he
seemed to entertain of taking Constantinople.
He has now sent an envoy thither, to ask for
peace or a truce from the Sultan, and buy it of
the Pashas. But the success of John of Austria in
Africa will render this more difficult, unless the
Turks are to suffer in reputation. In this place
we seem less than ever inclined to be obsequi-
ous to the Pope; the States of Austria have as-
sembled. Such of them as profess the Reformed
Religion are going to beg the Emperor to grant
them a church in this city for the performance
of their service, and they hope he will accede
to their request. They say, too, that he has made
up his mind to expel all the Italian monks, and
then the monasteries will be left empty, since it
is said that there is not a German monk in the
place, for the Jesuits think themselves grossly in-
sulted if they are called monks. The King of Po-
land has at last torn himself from his friends, and,
I believe, passed the Rhine five or six days ago,
for he left Nancy the twenty-fourth of last month.
My unhappy country, France, is falling headlong,
and you English look on idly at the ruin, and
make your market of the folly of our people,
and of the Belgians, or rather the Spaniards. Alva
leaves Belgium without any great triumph. I be-
lieve nothing vexes him more than that he has

left any survivors of his cruelty. His successor is Landgrave pretending the greatest moderation. He has just to S given a beautiful instance of his wisdom, for he has taken as a motto for his colours, "Debellare superbos." It is the mountain in labour. The threads of his net are too coarse, and he will not catch many birds. He promises impunity to all who shall give themselves up to be tortured. Orange's affairs are not altogether unpromising, for Holland and Zealand make so much of him, that they consider their well-being to depend on his safety, and therefore they do not allow him to encounter the risks of war, but will have him preside at their councils, and let others execute his commands.

If I were to follow my inclination, I should never stop writing to you. Again, I beg you not to show anyone my letters. I throw into them at random anything that occurs to me, so that the subjects are generally unconnected, and no doubt the same thing often repeated, for I do not remember what I have written to you before. Farewell, and greet my friends, especially the noble Count of Hannau, if you have returned to him.

Vienna, the Winter Solstice, December 21, 1573.

VI

Sidney to Languet

MY very dear Languet: I write you these few words now, only that you may see how strictly I observe this trifling condition of our friendship. I have nothing to write to you but what I know you will be glad to hear, that I am in excellent health. I have received your letter dated the day of the winter solstice, in which, besides many other agreeable contents, you tell me of the young Pole, Dioderi. This certainly makes me more sorry that I cannot go, as I told you in my last letter. But if the King would fall sick for but one month, or any other fortunate event should fall out, heavens, how gladly would I fly to you! I have already taken a house at Padua, to which place I shall go in less than a week. The Count of Hannau has sent me a letter for you, and someone else (who, I cannot say) has done the same. I shall give them presently with mine to Camillo. Master Vulcobius and Bouchetell have written to me. I pray you to commend me to them, and make my excuse that I do not answer their letters. I have been busy the whole day, and am just now come very late, and I must give my letters to Camillo very early to-morrow. In fact, I hardly know what I have been writing to you, but you will take all for the best, and continue to love

as you ever have done. Farewell, yours from Languet
y heart, to Sidney
Philip Sidney.

enice, Christmas Day, 1574.

VII

Languet to Sidney

AM truly pleased that you again promise to
lose no opportunity of letting me hear from
you, and that you make so much of your dili-
gence in writing; you say you have received
two letters from me, and written three. If
it is fair ground for boasting, I am now writing
seventh, and up to this time have received
three from you. You will be employing
yourself well and usefully, if you practise writ-
ing diligently while you are absent from your
home, for when you return, it will not be in
your power: and unless you have acquired the
art of writing with ease, you will have lost the
principal object of your studies and labours, and
you will be less able to keep up any friendships
you may contract with foreigners; for, as you are
endowed by nature for kindness, I suppose you
would wish them to last.

Your friend, the King of Poland, has at last bid-
den a long farewell to his family, at Blamont in

guet Lorraine. His mother, his brother Alençon, the
dney Duke of Lorraine, and other nobles, attended him
so far. From thence he went to Sarrebourg,
Pfalzburg (saluting its rising walls), Saverne,
Hagenau, Weissemburg, Landau, Spires. On the
twelfth of this month he passed the Rhine at
Spires, and went to Heidelberg to the Elector
Palatine, who is out of health. He had sent his
son, Christopher, attended by the Count of Han-
nau the elder, and Lewis of Nassau, as far as
Blamont to meet the King. My most noble Prince
I hear is to give him a splendid reception at Tor-
gau, and for that purpose he has with him his
son-in-law, Prince Casimir. I should have been
an eyewitness of the ceremony if my regard for
you had not kept me here, where I prefer to
remain that I may hear from you often, and see
you if you go into Poland, and be useful to you
as best I may. The escort of the King of Poland
is divided into three parties, the first commanded
by Marshal Retz; the last by Nevers; in the
centre the King has with himself the Prince of
Condé. The seventeenth of next month was
named for the inauguration, but they will be
obliged to put it off till February, because the
King cannot possibly reach Cracow before the
end of January. The Emperor will send thither
as ambassador the Duke of Teschen, of the fam-
ily of Monsterberg, whom I believe to be grand-
son of George Pogebratz, King of Bohemia. The

King of Hungary will send Brauner, whom you know. It will be a noble cortège. I suppose they will have forty or fifty carriages, and a vast number of horsemen, for all the nobility of the land are anxious to be present at so splendid a spectacle. The King of Hungary and the Archduke Ernest are to go from thence the day after to-morrow to Prague to convene the States of Bohemia, in which I hear nothing will be said about the kingdom, only about a contribution of money. They are to come back to this place at the beginning of February, for about that time the States of Hungary will assemble at Presburg.

At the beginning of the month letters arrived here from Lower Germany, stating that your Queen was dead; but as long as the truth was doubtful, I would not mention it, for fear of distressing you. I hear since from Heidelberg that it is a false report, and that the Elector Palatine has lately received a letter from her. We hear now that the King of Scotland has been poisoned. I should be sorry if it were so, and I hope this, too, is a fiction. Master Vulcobius greets you kindly, and bids you be careful of your health. Since you wrote that you should not stay long at Venice, he seems to fear some evil. The French ambassador, in his letters to him, shows that he has the highest opinion of your abilities, and thanks him for the letter which gave him the

Languet opportunity of obtaining your friendship
to Sidney a good thing "laudari a laudato viro," as
says to his father. Be sure you thank the
and do something to make a friend of t
millo Cruci who forwards our letters. Pra
him from me, and offer him my services,
he does not know me. I love all who ar
tive to you. Greet Master Brusket and C
by. I have been writing half asleep.

Vienna, December 24, 1573.

VIII

Languet to Sidney

YOU ask me to tell you how you c
form your style of writing. I think y
do well to read both volumes of
letters, not only for the beauty of the La
also for the very important matter they
There is nowhere a better statement of th
which overthrew the Roman Republic
persons think it very useful to take one o
ters and translate it into another langua
then to shut the book and turn it back int
and then again to refer to the book and c
their expressions with Cicero's. But be
falling into the heresy of those who thi
the height of excellence consists in the in

of Cicero, and pass their lives in labouring at it. Lang

I not only approve of your putting off the journey to Poland, but I wrote before to advise you to do so. I wish that your hopes of the Count of Hannau may be fulfilled. His company would soften all the difficulties of the road, and you would be amused and instructed by each other's talk. If the works of Plutarch were to be bought here, I would spare no money to gratify your desire. I have not ventured to ask Master Vulcobius for the copy which he possesses, because I see that he is his favourite author; but if you desire it, I will get rid of my modesty and ask. When you begin to read Cicero's letters, perhaps you will not want Plutarch. You are right to pay attention to astronomy; without some knowledge of it, it is impossible to understand cosmography; and he who reads history without a knowledge of this, is very like a man who makes a journey in the dark. The counsel I wished to give you is not of a kind which can be safely trusted to writing, and it is not your faults (as you allege) which give me matter for advice, but your good qualities, which will soon, I hope, be so conspicuous that men will take notice of what you do and say, and therefore you will have to be careful in whose presence you talk about your affairs at home; you are mistaken if you think that goodness will silence envy; nothing excites it so much.

But more of this when we meet. I sometimes gratify myself at our kind Abondius' with the sight of your portrait, and then forthwith I suffer for it, because it only renews the pain I felt at losing you. I do not think I possess a copy of my letter on the Polish election, which I showed to you; but if such trifles give you pleasure, I will take care to let you have the speech which I delivered before the King of France three years ago in the name of certain German princes, in which there are some matters so plainly spoken, that in the massacre of Paris I greatly feared they would cause my death.

I wonder who told you what you say about the Turkish treaties. I do not think a man can understand the present state of things, who makes allies of Turks and Spaniards; or Turks, English, Poles, and Saxons. The people from Constantinople say that the Emperor has a good prospect of an extension of the truce, but on somewhat harder terms than before. They say, too, that the Venetians have at length some hopes of concluding peace with the Turks. The Spaniards are doing their best to buy peace at any price, and, to say the truth, I hope they will not succeed; for it would be small gain to you English, or to the French, or to the Protestants of Lower Germany. The Archduke Ernest is gone to Prague to hold the States of Bohemia. King Rudolph is detained here by a fever and a cold which he

ght after dinner on Christmas Day. He had Sidney to
ed the day before, after the Spanish rule, and Languet
I assisted at the nocturns. I hear that his health
mproving. Master Vulcobius greets you kindly,
I begs you to pardon him for not answering
ur letter, for he had to write to France and Po-
d. If you love me, do not break off your habit
writing. I cannot tell you what pleasure your
ers give me. I wish you and yours a happy
w year.

enna, January 1, 1574.

IX

Sidney to Languet

EHOLD at last my letter from Padua! not
that you are to expect any greater elo-
quence than is usually to be found in my
stles, but that you may know I have arrived
e as I purposed, and in safety; and I think it
ht without any delay to send you a few words
m hence, for your satisfaction and my own, as
as communication by letter can be satisfac-
y. Here I am, then, and I have already visited
Excellency the Count and the Baron Slavata,
ur worthy young friends, and while I enjoy
ir acquaintance with the greatest pleasure
myself, I am perpetually reminded of your

ey to surpassing love of me, which you show in tak-
gnet ing so much care, not only for me, but for all
my concerns and conveniences, and that with-
out any deserving on my part. But you are not a
man to be thanked for such a thing; for you are
even now meditating greater kindness still, and,
in truth, as far as I am concerned, much as I am
indebted to you, I am only too willing to owe
you more. But enough of this.

Your last letter, written on the first of Janu-
ary, reached me on the thirteenth. It brought me
no news, for it was filled with instances of your
affection, ever pleasant indeed, but long since
known and proved, a kind of letter which is above
all others delightful and acceptable to me, for
while I read, I fancy that I have the very Hu-
bert himself before my eyes and in my hands.
I intend to follow your advice about composi-
tion, thus: I shall first take one of Cicero's letters
and turn it into French; then from French into
English, and so once more by a sort of perpet-
ual motion (but not of Abondius' sort), it shall
come round into the Latin again. Perhaps, too,
I shall improve myself in Italian by the same
exercise. For I have some letters translated into
the vulgar tongue by the very learned Paolo
Manuzio, and into French by some one else. The
volumes of Cicero I will read diligently. There
are some things also which I wish to learn of the

ts, which hitherto I have but skimmed on Sidney to
urface. But the chief object of my life, next Languet

e everlasting blessedness of heaven, will
rs be the enjoyment of true friendship, and
you shall have the chiefest place. You quite
me laugh at your summum bonum; for it
ght to my mind the definition of my coun-
an. As to what you say of the copies of
rch, I should be sorry that for so small a
er you should throw off the modesty which
e has implanted in you, nor am I so pre-
tuous as to disregard the pleasure of my
s, while I seek my own convenience. About
dius, I am anxiously thinking what I shall
to him in return for the great kindness
s shown to me, but I will see to it shortly.
e mean time I beg you will give him my
e.

all take absolutely no excuse for your not
g me your letter on the affairs of Poland,
ow I must have in addition that other dis-
e of yours which you mentioned in your
tter. They must needs be most interesting
, being the works of an eminent writer and
bert Languet. In truth, I think you ought
about some work, which may go down to
e ages as a worthy memorial of the great-
of your genius. But more of this when we
We have no news here. I await some from

guet you. Look to your health, for the sake of your
dney friends and all Christendom, as well as your own.
Farewell, yours with all my heart,

Philip Sidney.

Padua, January 15, 1574.

To the most excellent and illustrious Hubert
Languet, always my much esteemed friend, at
Vienna.

X

Languet to Sidney

I AM glad you have decided on going to Padua, where you will easily find better lodging than at Venice, and, I hope, have better acquaintances to amuse yourself with, and to converse with about your studies. You were quite right to learn the elements of astronomy, but I do not advise you to proceed far in the science, because it is very difficult, and not likely to be of much use to you. I know not whether it is wise to apply your mind to geometry, though it is a noble study and well worthy of a fine understanding; but you must consider your condition in life, how soon you will have to tear yourself from your literary leisure, and therefore the short time which you still have should be devoted entirely to such things as are most essential. I call those things essential to you which it is discreditable

an of high birth not to know, and which
ne day, be an ornament and a resource to
eometry may, indeed, be of great use to
of rank, in the fortification or investment
s, in castrametation and all branches of
ture, but to understand it sufficiently to
t useful would certainly require much
nd I consider it absurd to learn the rudi-
f many sciences simply for display and
use. Besides, you are not over cheerful
re, and it is a study which will make you
re grave, and as it requires the strongest
tion of the mind, it is likely to wear out
vers of the intellect, and very much to im-
e health; and the greater the ability, the
tense is the interest excited, and there-
more injurious; and you know you have
th to spare.

the Greek language I cannot advise
is a beautiful study, but I fear you will
o time to carry it through, and all the
u give to it will be lost to your Latin,
hough it is considered a less interesting
e than the Greek, is yet much more
nt for you to know. And therefore, as I
ore, I do not venture to advise you on
ect. I only recommend you to learn first
most necessary and most suitable to your
n. You are now acquainted with four lan-
If in your hours of amusement you can

Languet
to Sidney

guet I learn enough German to understand it anyhow,
idney I think you will be employing yourself well.
Next to the knowledge of the way of salvation,
which is the most essential thing of all, and which
we learn from the sacred scriptures, next to
this, I believe nothing will be of greater use to
you than to study that branch of moral philoso-
phy which treats of justice and injustice. I need
not speak to you of reading history, by which
more than anything else men's judgements are
shaped, because your own inclination carries you
to it, and you have made great progress in it.
But perhaps you are occupied with other mat-
ters, and my tedious letters only weary you. I
must, however, remind you to take good care of
your health, and not to injure it with too much
study. Nothing excessive lasts long, and a sound
mind is not enough unless it dwells in a sound
body. Since you are somewhat serious by na-
ture, you should choose companions who can
enliven you with becoming entertainment. The
noble Count of Hannau and all his suite are
greatly attached to you. I advise you to make
yourself most intimate with them. There will
always be good men who will esteem it a favour
if you will seek their friendship, and, as long as
you remain what you are, you will find men
all over the world to love you and show you
kindness.

It is supposed that the Emperor will go to

e within two months, and therefore I begin Languet
that I shall be unfortunate enough to lose to Sidney
ht of you when you come back into Ger-
which would be a most bitter disappoint-
to me. And even if things so fall in with
sire, that I may see you once more, I shall
joy the pleasure long. I foresee what pain
suffer in parting from you, and I would
find some remedy for it; but nothing oc-
me, unless a portrait of you might per-
be a relief to me. And though your like-
so engraven on my heart as to be always
my sight, yet I beg you kindly to indulge
far as to send it to me, or bring it when you
back. One reason why I wish to have it,
I may show it to those friends to whom
what I think of your worth, and what
I entertain of your character; for they feel
no man can possess such a gifted mind,
at showing marks of it in his person, and
ally in his face; and therefore they desire
v to see you. But I hope you will consider
lf at liberty to say no, without offending
r I should be sorry to make a request that
be disagreeable to you. The sight of your
t at our friend Abondius' wrought upon
that when I came home I wrote these
which I send to you, though from my
t youth I have never tried my hand on
ng of the kind. I venture to expose my-

ey to self to your mirth, and to say that I do not
guet consider them altogether from the purpose, and
to request therefore that they may be writ-
ten under the portrait which you will cause to
be painted, if there shall be room for them.

I return my warmest thanks to Master Brusket
for his very kind letter, which I would have an-
swered, if I had had time; but in truth I have
been much engaged, and even while I write
this, I have in my chamber my good friend,
Dr. Andreas Paulus, a counsellor of my most
noble prince, a man of eminent abilities and
truly attached to me; who loves you though he
never saw you, and sends you his dutiful ser-
vice. Farewell.

Vienna, January 22, 1574.

XI

Sidney to Languet

YOUR last letter was on many accounts
most delightful to me, full as it was of your
affectionate regard for me. I am glad you
approve of my intention of giving up the study
of astronomy, but about geometry I hardly know
what to determine. I long so greatly to be ac-
quainted with it, and the more so because I have

felt sure that it is of the greatest service Sidney to
t of war; nevertheless, I shall pay but Languet
attention to it, and only peep through
so to speak, into the rudiments of the
Of Greek literature I wish to learn only
as shall suffice for the perfect under-
of Aristotle. For though translations are
most daily, still I suspect they do not de-
meaning of the author plainly or aptly
and besides, I am utterly ashamed to be
the stream, as Cicero says, and not go
tain head. Of the works of Aristotle, I
he politics to be the most worth read-
mention this in reference to your ad-
I should apply myself to moral philoso-
the German language, my dear Hubert,
ly despair. It has a sort of harshness,
very well what I mean, so that at my
e no hope that I shall ever master it,
to understand it; nevertheless, to please
sometimes, especially at dinner, prac-
n my good Delius. I readily allow that
n more serious than either my age or
its demand; yet this I have learned
ence, that I am never less a prey to
ly than when I am earnestly applying
powers of my mind to some high and
object. But enough of this.
h glad and sorry that you ask me so

Sidney to
Languet

urgently for my portrait: glad, because a recollection of this kind breathes the spirit of that sweet long-tried affection with which you regard me, and sorry, that you have any hesitation in giving me so mere a trifle. For even if there were not between us that true and genuine friendship which throws into shade all other feelings, as the sun obscures the lesser lights, still I have received that from you which gives you a right to demand from me as a debt, greater than this. As soon as ever I return to Venice, I will have it done either by Paul Veronese, or by Titian, or by Tiziano, who hold by far the highest place in the art. As to your lines, although it is truly a thing to boast of, "to be praised by one so full of praise," and though they are most welcome to me as testifying your undying affection for me, I cannot think of sinning so grievously against my modesty, as to have such a proclamation of my praises, especially as I do not deserve them inscribed on my portrait. Therefore in this I pray you to pardon me. In all else commend me, and I will satisfy you as far as I can; the rest at any rate shall not be wanting. Forgive me this letter, full as it is of blots and scores, for I write in haste. Farewell, your most loving and dutiful

Philip Sidney

Padua, February 4, 1574.

Meantime I give you with pleasure the like

which Abondius drew, and I will either send or bring him a token. Once more farewell.

Languet
to Sidney

To the most noble and excellent Master Hubert Languet, my much honoured master and friend, at Vienna.

XII

Languet to Sidney

I SHOULD be glad, as I wrote to you before, if you could acquire such a knowledge of German as to understand the language when you hear or read it: learn it perfectly you cannot, without much time and labour. You English have more intercourse with the Germans than with any other people, and their authority and power as a nation is already the greatest in Christendom, and no doubt will yet be increased by the folly of my own country and other neighbouring states. It seems to me quite absurd that your countrymen should make such a point of speaking Italian well, since, as far as I know, you derive no advantage from them; on the other hand, they derive the greatest from you, and therefore they ought to learn your language. Perhaps you are afraid you will not persuade them to take your money, unless you speak with perfect fluency. See, my dearest Sidney, how I trifle with you; and now that I am in the vein, I am

guet going to give you something still more trifling.
idney As my ill luck would have it, I chanced the other day upon two most charming writers, one of whom describes France, the other, England. The former is Robert Cœnalis, Bishop of Avranches, a very silly and ignorant person. The other would think himself greatly affronted if I called him English, since he repeatedly proclaims himself a Cambrian, not an Englishman. His name is Humfrey Lhuid, and if he is not learned, he is a man of extensive reading, but now and then forms his judgements in such a way that he seems totally destitute of common sense. He scourges the unfortunate Hector Boetius and Polydore Virgil so cruelly that even if they have grievously erred, the punishment seems greater than the fault. It is well for you that your ancestors drew their blood from France: for he says the Saxons, from whom the English are descended, were nothing but pirates and robbers. You know that the German writers have plundered us poor Gauls of the empire which they declare we never possessed. They say that the expedition of Godfrey of Bouillon to Jerusalem was theirs: and that the Greek and Latin writers, early and late, are talking nonsense when they say that the Gauls made so many irruptions into Italy, burned Rome, penetrated into Greece and even into Asia, since these all were undoubtedly Germans. But the good Welshman is so far from being touched

with these our misfortunes, that he adds insult Lang to them; some of the Germans had left us the to Sic incendiary Brennus, in consideration of his sacrilege and horrible death; but he takes him away from us and makes him a Welshman. And now hear the man's wretched fate, or rather the vengeance of the Gods; for I conclude that Vulcan, grateful for his wife's detection, desired to make some return to Apollo, who was still angry with Brennus and all his admirers for the sacrilege perpetrated at Delphi. I had gone on half asleep reading my good Welshman till very late at night; and somehow or other it fell out that the flame of my lamp caught the book, and before I could put the fire out, it was well-nigh burnt up, for it was not bound. I was distressed at first, but when I recovered myself I began to laugh, and reflected that it was a good thing for me, as it deprived me of the occasion of wasting my time on such follies. I was on the point of sending you the scorched remains of my poor Cambrian, that you might desire your Griffin, his countryman, to perform his obsequies, while you offered a laugh to appease the ghost. But I beseech you tell Griffin to write him an epitaph in Welsh and send it to me.

The Archduke Ernest is on his way back, having failed, they tell me, in the purpose for which he had been sent into Bohemia. The Bohemians will make no bargain with the son; they must

Sidney to
Languet have the man who can not only take what
offer, but give them something in return. It
therefore, be necessary for the Emperor to
to Prague, which I suppose he will do about
latter end of March. I wish you could be
us by that time; we would travel together
Prague, perhaps farther, and go over what
is worth seeing in Moravia and Bohemia,
cheat the time on the road in conversation
might not be displeasing to you, and to
would be delightful. This I write to you, and
you only. They say the King of Poland has
rived at Posen. The fifth of next month is na
for the funeral of King Sigismund Augustus,
the tenth for the inauguration of the new k
My letters are trifles, which I fear will soon we
you. Farewell, and greet my friends.

Vienna, January 28, 1574.

XIII

Sidney to Languet

VERILY our poor Cambro-Briton, who
drawn on himself the wrath of Apollo
Vulcan for the fault of Brennus, has met
handsome treatment at your hands; and y
think I observe a slight failing of your usual
nevolence. For, as if you thought his crime

fully atoned for in the fire, you proceed to rob Sidn him of that which he is proud to claim as his own Lang by right of inheritance. As to his assertion that the Saxons were pirates and thieves, see you to that: I am strong in the consciousness of my French blood, and grant it with all my heart. My regard for you, however, urges me to bid you reflect, and it is a serious matter, that our unknown saint, whoever he may be, who is of the same country and quality, may be ill pleased that you should raise such a laugh at his cousin after the flesh: and so perchance in his anger may wield against you his hieroglyphical monad, like Jove's lightning. Such is the wrath of heavenly Spirits.

Griffin had a good deal to say in memory of Master Lhuid, and made him a sort of funeral oration, while I appeased his ghost with a hearty laugh. Among other things, in order to efface the brand of folly which you had stamped on the worthy Lhuid, he says that as far as regards Brennus he is quite right, and proves it from the name, for in their language, the ancient Briton, Brennus means king, and was as much in vogue with them as Pharaoh or Ptolemy with the Egyptians, Arsaces among the kings of Parthia, and Hubert among hunters. And from this argument, not so strong as it might be, he concludes that this most notable robber was a countryman of his own. And let me entreat you grant him so

Sidney to much. But enough of jesting: seriously, let
Languet say that I am very desirous to see you again, and if the Almighty shall grant my request, I shall soon be with you, perhaps before your intended journey to Prague. In the mean while, if you please, I beg you will write to me of your own affairs, and send me any news you may hear. For in your letters I fancy I see a picture of the age in which we live: and that resembles a bow too long bent; it must either be unstrung, or it will break. And therefore I beseech me this favour, my dearest Hubert, and as you can safely trust your sentiments in writing, let me have them. For your letters are ever delightful to me for many reasons: and the chief reason which includes all the rest, is that they are yours.

We have received no news from England except that your friend, Walsingham, is now joint secretary with Smith, and has been appointed a member of the Privy Council, as we count a pretty strong testimony of the high estimation in which our Queen holds him.

With this letter of mine, you will also hear from the Count of Hannau, and all his people. I hope you will answer them, for they are marvellously attached to you. Pray give my humble respects and much greeting to Master Vulcobius. I write to him more frequently, but that I have no worthy matter for writing: and I

to the men of Perugia to trouble men of business with their nonsense; do not forget the same civility to my excellent friend Bouchetell. Nothing more occurs to me to say at present, and so I will make an end, only exhorting you to continue to love me. Farewell, your most loving

Philip Sidney.

Padua, February 11, 1574.

Brusket commends him to you with all duty.

To the most excellent Master Hubert Languet, my ever honoured master and friend, at Vienna.

XIV

Languet to Sidney

I WROTE to you lately what I thought of your studies. I entreat you, make an effort to improve your pronunciation. Nothing is impossible to your abilities. You will find some little trouble at first, but, believe me, you will not need much time to accomplish it, and you will gain the more credit because so few of your countrymen take any pains about it. Find out some man of letters, whose pronunciation pleases you, and converse with him alone daily for half an hour on various subjects. Take at first the pronunciation of the letter A to correct, and desire your friend to check you whenever you

Languet
to Sidney say it wrong, and every time you are che
pay him some little fine in money, or wha
please. I am sure that in five or six days
will find you have spent your time well
will go on to the rest with more alacrity. I v
not recommend it to a dull man, but you c
what you wish, and so you need not answe
with your favourite line about "nature m
ring;" for if you will not do as I ask, I sha
the blame on the want of will and energy
on poor innocent nature. Scarcely two m
have passed since you began to write to
and yet in that short time you seem to m
have improved more than many men wou
a year. I have watched you closely when
were speaking my own language, but I ha
ever detected you pronouncing a single syl
wrongly. I entreat you, my dear Sidney, fo
sake, try this one thing, and then the mor
natured censors will have no fault to find
you. Pardon the love which makes me tro
you with these admonitions.

I send you the speech which I mentione
you, rather to comply with your request,
because I think it worth your reading. It has
tainly been published without my knowle
and much against my will. Our King of
has at last reached Poland safe and sound
inauguration is again put off to the sevente
of this month; while I write, I hear it is

more put off to the twenty-first. The reports of the invasion of Lithuania by the Russians are untrue. Their King sends a splendid embassy to Poland, consisting, they say, of a thousand horsemen; the ambassadors are at Smolensko on the Borysthènes, where they are waiting for *literæ commeatus*, "safe conducts" as they are called, which I hear have been sent to them. It is supposed they will make proposals for a truce or a peace. The Emperor's health is growing troublesome; he is afflicted with calculus and has lost his appetite. Of my poor France I can only say what Petrarch says: "*Pace non trovo e non hoda far guerra.*" They who say that several towns of Holland have given themselves up to the new governor of Belgium are greatly mistaken; I do not believe a single goose has been surrendered. He is diligently fitting out a fleet for the relief of the Middleburghers, who are suffering from the want of supplies; he will not do it without a battle, for the Gueux are at the mouth of the Scheldt and seem most desirous of fighting. The Prince of Orange is at Flushing, that he may be at hand to manage matters. Farewell; love me, greet my friends, and remember what I wrote about your portrait.

Vienna, February 5, 1574.

Languet to Sidney

I WONDER you say nothing in your last letter about your return, as you always did before. I dare not say that you are so fascinated by the alluring splendours of Italy, as to have forgotten us and ours, for you would be ashamed to do so with me, as you were formerly. But yet, if there is any reason why you think you ought to change your plans, I should wish you to let me know in good time, that I may not nurse the vain hope, and feel it the more when I find myself deceived. They write word constantly, as I told you before, that the King of Poland is to be inaugurated on the twenty-first of this month, but some are beginning to doubt about it, and suspect the ceremony will be put off until April. If it should turn out so, I would advise you not to lose an opportunity, unless you have resolved not to come back at all to this part of the world. We have hopes, too, that about that time Rudolph will be elected to succeed his father as King of Bohemia. But when we have certain information on these points, I will write to you once. In the mean time, you might make your tour through such parts of Italy as you have determined to visit, so that there may be nothing to delay you when you shall be called upon to hasten away.

Vienna, February 13. 1581

XVI

Sidney to Languet

IN tempore venisti," as I believe Davus says in Terence. I was quite prepared to display all my authority in remonstrating with you, because this Friday, contrary to custom, had almost passed without a letter from you; when lo! it comes. It soon made me give up my fierce resolution, and indeed, from a vehement prosecutor turned me into a trembling defendant. You bring many charges against me, but the worst of all is, that in my last letter I said nothing about my return, as if it was necessary to repeat it now, when I have so often assured you of it before. If, indeed, I should change my plans, it would be a want of courtesy in me not to acquaint you with the change; but while I continue in the same mind, why should I go on dinning into your ears the same story, trifling as it is? But I know this comes of your regard for me; that you are never weary of hearing anything that concerns me in the smallest degree. And therefore, unless you will have me to be ungrateful, in other words a monster, you must not believe it possible that I should either forget your affection, or suffer your friendship to be supplanted by any new connections.

The rumour of peace made between the Turk and the son of Mahomet has sunk into a whisper,

Sidney to yet there is some mischief in it without doubt.
Languet for the Venetians are being very roughly dealt
with. One thing is clear, that they will be content
of a peace on the hardest terms. You have
course heard of the naval battle and the complete
victory of the Gueux. In France, they say
that the Huguenots are moving without a check
all over Languedoc, Dauphiné, and Provence,
and that Montmorency has been trying to
move the King by poison. "Such are the fruits
of royal friendships." Pray write me word
these reports are true, my dear Hubert. I will
hunt out all that you have written, private or
published, about the Polish inauguration.

This day one Paul of Verona has begun
my portrait, for which I must stay here two or three
days longer. Love me, and farewell. Venice, Fe-
bruary 26, 1574.

I have written this letter half asleep.

Yours from my heart,

Philip Sidney

To the most excellent Hubert Languet, my
honoured master and friend, at Vienna.

XVII

Languet to Sidney

YOU advise me in your last letter, not to be so careful for the safety of others, while I disregard my own; for that you know many Papists entertain no little hatred against me. My very dear Sidney, I am anxious for your safety, because I consider your birth, your disposition, your thirst for goodness, the progress you have already made – and I know what your country has a right to hope of you, if it shall please God to grant you life. With me it is a very different matter, since the lowliness of my station and abilities, as well as increasing age, does not suffer me to be useful either in public or in private, although the will is not wanting. And therefore I fear no danger, since I see that my life is of no good to anyone, and that death will but deliver me from the wretchedness in which I live; for what can be more distressing to a man, who has feelings of humanity, than to be a witness to such crimes as for ten or twelve years have been, and still are, perpetrated in my unhappy France and in Belgium? The hatred of the Papists which you speak of, does not disturb me; my life and my death are in the hands of God, and they can do to me no more than God shall permit. But one advantage I obtain from their hatred of me, namely, that I shall feel less pain

guet than I otherwise should have felt when I see
dney their overthrow.

The Roman pontiff transforms himself into every shape to prop his falling throne; but God turns his wicked counsels to his ruin. From him, and him alone, came the plan for executing the nobles in Belgium, for that monstrous massacre of so many innocent men in France, and for the Polish election. But mark what profit these plots have brought to the plotters, and to the princes who follow them. When Alva came to Belgium, he found everything in peace, the religion of the Pope restored all over the land, and the country abounding in wealth, from which his king was drawing vast revenues. But acting on the persuasion that the religion of Rome could never be established there, unless all those were removed who seemed inclined to fall away, he brought things to this pass, that Pope and Spaniard are in no small danger of losing the country altogether. Two years ago, France, as you saw yourself, was in perfect peace, and was beginning to draw breath after all that bloodshed, and to recover itself to a certain extent. Our friends were allowed to preach in some places, but the whole administration was in the hands of the Papists. Yet the Pope, not contented with this, was the deviser of that notable plan for making away with the poor remains of our friends, such as survived all those wars and cruel defeats.

The Admiral was killed, and many good men Languished with him; and then the Pope thought to himself that he had fairly established his supremacy in France. What was the result? Instantly war burst forth in various quarters of France, and even reached the dominions of the Pope himself. I fear the consequences will be still more awful; nor can I have much hope from the peace which is now proposed.

Again, the Pope contrived that Anjou should be preferred to the Austrian in the Polish election, because he thought he would be more rigid than the other in maintaining the religion of Rome; for he was afraid the Emperor would recommend to his son milder measures. Anjou obtained the crown; that is, from a state of great happiness he was plunged into no small troubles. But the Pope has lost a support of his power in France, such as he will hardly find again. So you see that the wicked devices of the court of Rome find a very different result from that which they hoped. Yet he does not cease stirring up troubles in all directions. What will be the end? I will tell you what I think, though I hope I may be a false prophet. These civil wars which are wearing out the strength of the princes of Christendom are opening a way for the Turk to get possession of Italy; and if Italy alone were in danger, it would be less a subject for sorrow, since it is the forge in which the causes of all these ills are

Languet wrought. But there is reason to fear that
to Sidney flames will not keep themselves within its fr
tier, but will seize and devour the neighbour
states. Farewell.

Vienna, March 26, 1574.

I have requested you more than once not
show my letters; once more I make the requ

XVIII

Languet to Sidney

OF my unfortunate France I shall say n
thing, because I suppose you hear m
from thence than we. In Belgium
war rages more and more. Orange is said
have found a rich booty in Middleburgh. M
dragon, the governor of the place, was sent
the Spaniards, to treat with them for an
change of prisoners, and promised, if he fail
to return to Orange within two months, a
bound himself by oath and by hostages. I
when he reached Antwerp, the commander
sired a Spanish Jesuit, Father Strigosa, to absol
him from his oath, saying that no promise is
be kept with heretics. I think the Gueux h
better henceforth bind their prisoners with
rope instead of an oath. The Prince, when he h

settled matters in Zealand, returned to Holland with forty ships. Fifty more sailed to the westward, and about the straits of Calais fell in with twenty-seven sail, Spanish, Portuguese, and French, of which they took twenty-two; the rest escaped.

We do not yet know whether Christopher, the Palatine, and Count Lewis of Nassau have crossed the Meuse with their army. They were encamped for some time between Aix-la-Chapelle and Maestricht, holding that part of Maestricht which is on the right bank of the Meuse. The Spaniards here say that Sancho Davila has cut off near seven hundred of their men. A fleet of sixty sail is being fitted out in the Bay of Biscay, which they say John of Austria is to take to Belgium. If he does so, perhaps he will find someone to salute him on his passage; but I hardly think the King of Spain will take them away from Italy, which is in no small danger from the Turkish fleet.

Bizarro has written to Master Vulcobius that something has happened in England which has made the Queen increase the number of her body guards, but he does not explain; if you know anything of the matter, pray tell me. Farewell, and greet my friends.

Vienna, April 1, 1574.

XIX

Sidney to Languet

THIS last letter of yours has so distressed me, that I can hardly summon courage to reply to it. Alas! my dear Languet! is it possible that you are unhappy, when you are admired and loved by every man who has a spark of goodness in him? If it were anything in your private concerns which thus disturbs you, I should beg and beseech you by the love I bear to you, and by our sworn friendship, which I shall cherish as long as I live, to let your advancing age repose on my affection (true, it has not much power, yet inclination of itself may effect something), and be assured that there is nothing I call my own, to which you have not by the same title a prior claim. But as I have long known your strength of mind, and as I perceive from this very letter that your grief arises from the state of the good cause and your own dear country, I have nothing more to write. What if I should offer you consolation, by citing from remote history examples of other kingdoms, which have not only recovered from a far more desperate condition, but have afterwards mastered the world? My youth and my deficiencies forbid this. Then must I hold my peace, and pass over that part of your letter in silence? Surely that would be to neglect my friend, and break

every law of friendship. And so, since I am Sidney
ashamed to speak and ashamed to hold my Language
peace, I think it better to say a few words, so
as to do the duty, as far as may be, of a modest
man, and, at the same time, a loving friend.

In the first place, then, my very dear Hubert,
let me advise you to consult yourself more frequently, and listen to your own judgement on these matters. For your own understanding is so vigorous, that no man living can give you more wholesome counsel than you can give yourself. In the next place, and especially, I entreat you to look at the wounds from which the Church of God is now suffering, singly and separately, that you may not by an accumulation of ills be tempted to despair. I mean, for example, that you should consider the troubles of France by themselves, and not crowd into the same picture, your own misfortunes and those of Flanders too. I think by this means, you will be more likely to discover any hope that may fairly be entertained, amidst so many dangers. For my part (but this is probably but a weakness that belongs to youth), I have begun to be in better spirits, since I heard that the King of Poland had rid France of his presence, and that the cause of the Huguenots is succeeding as we could wish in Aquitaine. But then I know that you look far into the future, and see not only these bare facts, but their consequences too; and therefore I hope you

Sidney to will receive what I have said, not as advice, but
Languet the expression of my very great regard for you.

With respect to Belgium, truly I cannot see how it could have happened better: for though the beautiful country is all on fire, you must remember that the Spaniards cannot be driven from it without all this conflagration: and for my part I think it is far better that Saguntum should burn than that false Hannibal should possess so much without dispute. The last part of your lamentation is upon the danger which seems to threaten Italy from the Turk; and yet, if this should come to pass, what could be more desirable? First of all, that rotten member will be removed, which has now so long infected the whole Christendom; and the forge in which, as you observe, are wrought the moving springs of all these evils will be swept away. Then will the princes of Christendom be forced to wake up from their deep sleep; and your countrymen, who are now cutting each other's throats, will be driven to join forces and stand fast against the common foe: just as fighting dogs when they see the wolf at work among their sheep. But there is more behind; I am convinced that this baneful Italian would so contaminate the very Turks, would ensnare them with all its vile allurements, that they would soon fall down of themselves from their high place; and this, if I am not mistaken, we shall see in our days.

But that which makes me wonder most of all is, how it could occur to you that you can no longer be of any use to your country or your friends, and therefore that you have no motive for desiring to live. I will say no more, nor will I attempt to express what I think on this subject, further than this, which I declare and will maintain as long as I live, that I have derived more advantage from my acquaintance with you, than from all the time I have spent on my travels. This is enough for the present. But, my dear Hubert, do not think it is either arrogance, which I hope is not one of my faults, nor mere loquacity, which, however, Xenophon thought no fault in young Cyrus; but an inclination or rather impulse of my mind that has moved me to write thus much to you. I was desirous to do what I could to relieve you from that distress which I perceived was somewhat disturbing you; and yet I readily allow that all this simply comes under the proverb, "*Sus Minervam.*"

But now for a lighter strain. In the same letter you are careful to clear yourself of a certain Italian crime of writing too much, which was very unnecessary; your time to defend yourself will be when you do not write at all. For I am well aware that you Burgundians are not such nice geniuses as to take over-much delight in writing; you may fairly concede that honour to the Perugians, from whom have issued, as you tell

ey to me in the letter I received with this last, certain
guet news of the number of guards in our palace
being increased: which news, as it seems to me,
smells of the lamp of Pietro Bizarro—with due
respect I name him. For, as Tigranes said of Lu-
cullus' army, they are enough and too many for
the purpose to which they are destined: but if
any new danger is apprehended, other means
must be applied. This much is certain, that the
Queen is making greater preparations both by
sea and by land than ever before, and has lately
commanded all foreign artizans, as they are
called, and these are nearly all Belgians, to leave
London. She has done it with this view, that
they may thus be forced to return into Belgium
and defend their own homes; which, doubtless,
will be a great gain to Orange, for they are as
many as twenty thousand in number. Besides
this, there is no news, except about the Biscay
fleet, and the splendid banquets of the Pope; for
he is quite what men call a "good fellow."

With this letter I send you some from the Count
of Hannau and his people, which he sent to me
last week, but later than he ought. You must
not answer them until you hear from me, for
he is gone to make a tour of the midland parts
of Italy. Here you see your unfairness, but I
must hold my peace, for I have promised him.
However, be pleased to remember the logical
argument a majori. In a few days you will see

two noble Englishmen, to whom I shall give Sidney
letters of introduction to you, and therefore Lang
it seems well to write a few words to precede
their arrival, and prepare you to receive them
with your wonted courtesy. The one, whom I
especially commend to you, is Master Robert
Corbett, my very greatest friend, a man of high
birth, but one who, as Buchanan says,

In excellence of parts outdoes his birth.

He is of the right side in religion, and not un-
practised in the art of war; he speaks only Ital-
ian. The other is Master Richard Shelley, my
cousin, as also is Corbett, but nearer to me in
blood as the other in friendship. He is a man
of erudition, knows well Greek and Latin and
Italian, and has some slight acquaintance with
French; but he is sadly addicted to popery. When
they reach you, if you please, you will learn
their names from themselves. Farewell, and con-
tinue to love me. Venice (I shall return to Padua
on Monday), April 15, 1574. Your truly devoted
Philip Sidney.

To the most excellent Master Hubert Languet,
my friend much to be respected.

Languet to Sidney

I DO not believe your mind could so soon be tainted with the morals of the people whom you have visited, as to forget utterly one who loves you better than himself, and grudge him the intense pleasure he will feel at hearing you have returned safe to Padua, to our good friends there. Still, as you write not a word of your return, you would give me some grounds for suspicion, if my regard for you, which absolutely rules me, would allow it. And if it should be so, I should not wreak my fury on the Etrurians and Savoyards, from whom my misfortune took its birth; but I would straight attack the English, and aim all my weapons at them. And if I should find nothing to charge you with except inconstancy in friendship, I would search out and scrape together, from every quarter, all that could hurt or lower the character of your country, and so satiate myself with sweet revenge. But I will do nothing hastily; I will command my temper until I am more certainly informed of your disposition towards me, and then I will act according to circumstances. But now let us cease fighting. If I thought that my advice would have any weight with you, I should recommend you, as I have before, to keep clear of those places which are under Spanish government. For we hear from

many quarters, that troops and other supplies are being sent every day from England to the enemies of Spain, so that no one doubts the Spaniards are irritated against you. Genoa itself is so devoted to Spain, that I doubt if it will be safe for you to stay there long. But perhaps you enjoy the sight of ships fitting out, which is always going on there, and the music of the fetters that bind the poor rowers; or you are kept there by the desire to see John of Austria on his return to Spain, where I fear he may find only jealousy as his reward for all he has done for his country. For these two natural sons of the King of Spain, who have lately made their appearance, as if from the grave, seem to threaten something of the kind. Doubtless the King will do all he can to honour them, that Don John may have some rivals of consequence. How beautifully everything is being made ready for acting in Spain, after the King's death, such a tragedy as we had in France the other day. Perhaps, indeed, the actors, being in the heat of youth, will not wait so long. In France, the crop is ripening which was sown when you and I were there. I hope those who exulted at the sowing will reap in tears. The unhappy King has been reduced by a few evil counsellors to such a state, that he is not only in terror of those whom he has injured, but even of those who have received the greatest benefits from him. I observe that all these things are

ey to coming to pass just as I foretold to a friend of
guet mine, in that long letter which you read about
the journey of the King of Poland.

I wish you all good fortune, and beg you not
to be so hasty in forgetting your friends.

Vienna, April 10, 1574.

XXI

Sidney to Languet

I NEVER could be induced to believe that Ma-
chiavelli was right about avoiding an excess
of clemency, until I learned from my own ex-
perience what he has endeavoured with many
arguments to prove. For I, with my usual vice
of mercy, endured at your hands not only in-
justice, but blows and wounds; hoping that such
gentleness would at last bend the most hard-
ened obstinacy. But I am disappointed in my
hopes, and seeing that my remedy, far from
diminishing, even increases the malady, I shall
use it no longer, but I shall substitute whole-
some severity for this empty show (for so in
truth it is) of clemency. What! have you really
persuaded yourself that you may not only in
safety laugh at the Welsh, paint the Saxon char-
acter in its true colours, set down Florentines
and Savoyards for thieves and robbers, but you

must go a step farther and threaten the English? Sidr
I should be sorry to pour out my wrath, just Lan
though it is, on the Burgundians, out of respect
for your patron saint, Hubert, and that sage
duke of yours, Charles, of pious memory, whom
the Swiss treated with such consideration. But I
wish you to answer me this, What has England
done to deserve so fierce a persecution at your
hands? And not content with this, you challenge
me on a private quarrel, as if my country's was
not enough to move me, and produce some new
suspicions against me, of which the heaviest of
all is, that I neglect my duty of writing because
I forget you. Oh! I love you! like Geta in the
Phormio, you have tried a man's honesty with
money, and yet cannot trust him with words.
But I shall settle this matter with you in per-
son, and in a very different manner; at present
I should be sorry to cast off my usual lenity al-
together, because I hope to see by your next
letter, that you are duly penitent for so grave
a fault.

Monsieur d'Acqs has returned to Venice. I will
endeavour to make his acquaintance, for he is,
or at least is said to be, distinguished for every
virtue. I hear he brings word that the Turks are
making great preparations this year, so that I
hope the Spaniards will have to think more about
defending their own homes than attacking other
men. And hence many persons begin to doubt

ey to whether John of Austria will return to Spain.
guet Cosmo, Duke of Florence, died the other day;
his people lament him greatly, with the same
feelings as those of the woman of Syracuse, who
prayed long life to King Dionysius. His succes-
sor is even now busily treating with the Turk,
that his Etrurian subjects may have free access
to trade in Greece. Whether he will obtain his
suit I know not.

As the time approaches for me to keep my
promise of returning, that you may not some
day, as you have done before, accuse me of in-
constancy, I place in your hands the free choice
and right of deciding whether I shall wait until
the Count of Hannau goes back, or set out at once
on my journey to you, my dear Hubert. I have
nothing to add except that Messieurs du Ferrier
and Zindelini continue to show me the greatest
attention. Farewell, and if you love me, see that
you be not over anxious. Your most loving and
dutiful

Philip Sidney.

Padua, April 29, 1574.

I beg that you will kindly greet Master Vulcobius
and Bouchetell from me. Brusket salutes you. I
write half asleep, and in the same state I have
written a letter which I am sending to Lobetius.

To the most excellent Master Hubert Languet,
my much respected friend, at Vienna.

Languet to Sidney

THE Spaniards have begun to talk more grandly than ever about their affairs, since they lost Zealand; meantime the Gueux have taken from them the town of Berghem, which is only eight miles from Antwerp, and are now fortifying it; and the troops of the Palatine Christopher and Lewis of Nassau are laying waste their lands. And yet the Spaniards are so courteous a race, that they not only submit to this, but seem not even to disapprove of it; they do even the same as their enemies, ay, and as I hear, bear harder on their subjects than they. All this time they chatter a great deal about an enormous fleet which is being fitted out in Spain, with which they say they not only intend to recover Holland and Zealand, but in order to take revenge for their disobedience, they will break down the dykes, and let the sea overwhelm them. And they will raise Spanish, Italian, Swiss, and German troops in such numbers that they will not only chastise the rebels, but the neighbouring states, too, who have helped to keep alive the war. You English, they will fall upon first, as the chief authors of their misfortunes. See, therefore, that you fail not your country at so great a need. I would not, however, have you be too hasty, for they will not, I hope,

guet lay siege to London this spring, for their motto
idney seems to be, "Festina lentè." They have been
compelled to withdraw the troops which they
had in Holland, to meet the enemies' forces
which are attempting to pass the Meuse. And
so the Prince of Orange has marched into Hol-
land with his army, and, it is said, intends to be-
siege Amsterdam. Do what they will, the Span-
iards will either be driven from Belgium, or will
be compelled to end the war by a treaty, of
which the first condition will be that they shall
all evacuate the country, and that will be a sore
thing for them. When first they went there, they
found it a very warm nest, and did not think
they could easily be made to leave it. I hope
if you have not done what you promised me,
about correcting your pronunciation, that you
will do it now. I think it is most essential and
yet perfectly easy. Health and happiness to you.

Vienna, April 18, 1574.

XXIII

Languet to Sidney

I HEAR that in your part of the world there
is a book privately on sale, written in Italian,
entitled the Stratagem of the King of France.
If you can get a copy or two of this work, you

will confer a great favour on myself and Master Vulcobius by sending it to us; but take care to fold it in a small packet, and give it to the person who usually forwards your letters. You will settle about your portrait as you please. If you had hopes of coming to us soon, it would be needless to send it to me before, but your speed in this matter is very slow. I wish you all health and happiness, and give you joy of your safe return to your friends. Greet Master Brusket and your other attendants from me.

Vienna, April 23, 1574.

XXIV

Sidney to Languet

ALTHOUGH I have no doubt you have received from many quarters, and even from rumour itself, far more certain intelligence than I can give you, writing at this date and from this place, yet I think it my duty on so important a subject to have a few words with you by letter. For, as I have always thought it the most delightful fruit of friendship to converse freely with one's friend, that is, with a second self, on any subject, public or private; so this present occasion of itself seems to demand of all who care for the true religion, to dismiss every

Sidney to other thought, and concentrate on it alone the f
Languet powers of their mind. Why all this preface? B
cause I would have you believe that I am deep
and sincerely distressed. For I have heard, a
that from no obscure persons, but even fro
the Council of Ten, that Count Lewis has be
defeated and mortally wounded, his brothe
taken, and a great number of his people sla
among whom the most distinguished are Chr
topher, son of the Palatine, and certain Counts
the Rhine, as they are called. And they say su
a panic has arisen from this in Belgium, that u
less some Christian prince comes to the rescu
affairs are tending to a surrender. I hope, indee
and hope because I wish, that this is a false r
mour, spread about to please the Spaniards, w
desire nothing so much as that men should b
lieve they are prospering. But howsoever it m
be, my dearest Languet, this at least is certa
that our princes are enjoying too deep a slum
ber; nevertheless, while they indulge in this r
pose, I would have them beware that they f
not into that malady, in which death itself go
hand in hand with its counterpart.

I lately saw a work written with some skill
I can get it, I will send it to you), in which t
author strongly urges the princes whom he ca
Catholic, to carry out the decrees of the Cou
cil of Trent; and he finds occasion for this esp
cially in the disgraceful indolence of the Germ

es. For while some of them are engaged in Sidney to
usals, others in absurd hunting parties, others Languet
n in turning the course of rivers with lavish
nditure, and all except the Palatine have
e up their minds to neglect their people and
themselves, he is confident that they may
y be crushed. Good heavens, how I wish I
d pass only one hour with you, for I have
n to say which I cannot possibly trust to
ng. It will soon be in my power, for the
nt, I hope, will shortly return, and will make
ay here, but at once begin the journey to
and this somewhat calms the vehemence
y desire.

ave written to-day to my uncle the Earl of
ester, and have told him all the results which
Spaniards promise themselves from this vic-
Perhaps some good may come of my let-
and if not, at any rate for my own part, I
ld rather be charged with lack of wisdom
of patriotism. Believe me, my dear Hubert,
n I tell you that I have never seen a silly
an exulting at an unexpected piece of news
e than some of these Spaniards are doing
is; and yet they pretend to the character of
t moderation; God grant they may laugh
a wry face! But enough of this. I have taken
sures about that French Stratagem, and be-
Thursday two copies will be made for me;
not printed, because the Pope was moved

Languet by the urgent request of the French ambassador to Sidney to forbid it. For where the author praised to the skies certain Italian virtues in the King, the speedy Frenchman thought his master was being insulted instead of praised. As soon as I have written I will send it to you, with a letter to Master Vercobius. I do not write to him now, both because I am much engaged, and because, as he is always busy, I would not trouble him needlessly. Pray greet him heartily, and thank him much for his kind letter to me. Finally, whatever news you have, let me hear it, if so it please you. Farewell, and love me. My Lewis commends him to you in all duty.

Your most loving

Philip Sidney

Padua, May 7, 1574.

To the most excellent Master Hubert Languet, my very dear friend, at Vienna.

XXV

Languet to Sidney

THE success of Orange against the Spaniards had somewhat cheered us, but the unfortunate battle, in which the army of the Palatine, Christopher, and Lewis of Nassau has been defeated, has again beaten down our

hopes. If it is true that Christopher has fallen, Lang
as the Spaniards say (and they alone have re- to S
ceived letters about it), what a blow it will be
to that excellent old man, his father, who only
permitted him to expose himself to such dan-
gers, through his zeal for the propagation of the
true religion, and for the relief of those who are
unjustly oppressed by the Spaniards. You judge
rightly about Italy; whenever the Turks gain
possession of it, all the ancient virtue that re-
mains in them will soon be lost, and so the rest
of Christendom will reap a double benefit from
its fall. It only remains that I should thank you
for so kindly and liberally offering me your aid.
I would without hesitation accept it, if I were not
sufficiently supplied from other quarters. I have
so learned to be content with a little, that I hope
I shall never be a burden on my friends; still, as
a mark of your regard for me, it is most grate-
ful, and I esteem it a kindness.

Vienna, May 1, 1574.

XXVI

Languet to Sidney

I ADMIRE the candour with which you warn
me to beware of you, for that is the mean-
ing of your fierce threats. But there you do

Languet to Sidney not follow the advice of your friend Machiavelli unless, perhaps, it is fear that has extorted these big and sounding words, and you thought that so I might be deterred from my intention. I wonder it did not occur to you that the Burgundians are men of a high and indomitable spirit, and rise, like the palm, against pressure from above. But a great man, as he does not give way to the insolence of an enemy, so is easily moved to compassion towards those who are struggling with misfortune, or threatened with danger. So I will lay aside my quarrel, and in the character of a friend I will advise you to look out quickly for some painstaking man, to instruct you carefully in Marianism, for without an acquaintance with the science, it is impossible that any one should henceforth, as he might hope to do, attain any high station in England. For the Spaniards say that they are sending John of Austria into Belgium, to crush the Gueux, to subdue the English by the terror of his name, to restore the Queen of Scotland to her liberty, marry her, and receive the kingdoms of Scotland and England as her portion. I wish that name, Philip, of which you are so proud that you do not spare even St. Hubert, could be changed to John, that you might be a namesake of your future prince, which might open you a way to his favour; and therefore I recommend you to consult your canonists on the subject, and especially

your friend Delius. If the thing can be done by Lan
indulgence or dispensation, or any other means, to S
spare no expense, that so you may return to
your friends with so noble a name. But to speak
seriously: the Spaniards, puffed up with their
late success, are threatening dreadful things, not
only to the Gueux, but also to you English and
the Palatine. They say that John of Austria is
to lead great reinforcements of Spanish and Ital-
ian troops from Milan into Belgium. The Span-
iards are also enlisting great numbers, cavalry
and infantry, in Germany, and are applying to
the Swiss for troops. Besides this, a fleet is being
fitted out in Cantabria, so strong that they ex-
pect Gueux, English, and French will be unable
to bear even the sight of it. What say you of all
this? The mountain in labour. I entirely believe
that they are thinking of peace, since they see
that up to this time they have gained nothing
by war, and all these big words have this ob-
ject, that they may buy it as cheap as possible;
but they will find more difficulty in that than
they anticipate. It is not so hard to raise large
armies; but to support them for any length of
time—"hoc opus, hic labor est," this is the diffi-
culty. They have very few men in Belgium, and
yet these are in mutiny for their arrears of pay,
and have put their officers in confinement. I be-
lieve the fate of the Roman pontiff will be that
of Priam, namely, that he will survive all his

guet friends. This seems to be the determined object
dney of those princes who wilfully and knowingly are
giving themselves over to ruin, to prop his dig-
nity and authority. You English, like foxes, have
slunk out of it, with a woman too for your leader,
which makes it the more disgraceful and discred-
itable to us.

I think you err in saying that the French ambas-
sador has returned from Constantinople. Others
who write, do not mention it, and his brother,
who is to succeed him, is still in Poland. We had
already heard that the Duke of Florence had
descended to Rhadamanthus. Pluto will have
enough to do for some days with his new sub-
jects. That man will one day be spoken of as a
sagacious and fortunate prince. The good hope
you give me of your return has quite made me
happy. I forgive you and all the English every
sin you have ever sinned against me, and I am
almost sorry I have foretold you the misfortunes
which are to befall you. It will be far more con-
venient for you to travel through Germany with
the Count, especially as none of your people
speak German; and therefore it is better that
you should wait for his coming, so that he comes
away before midsummer. For I fear the heat for
you, spare framed as you are, and knowing as
I do your voracious appetite for fruit; and there-
fore I forewarn you of fever and dysentery, if
you stay there during the summer. I never feel

relief from the low spirits, which I suffer for good Sidney's reasons, but when I read your letters, and so I Langue write at random anything that comes into my head. Wherefore I pray you to excuse it, and to believe that I have no evil intent in what I write. When you have decided on coming away, I beg you will let me know, that I may not write to no purpose. Farewell; greet my friends, especially Master Brusket.

Vienna, May 13, 1574.

XXVII

Sidney to Langue

YOU certainly have behaved with a good deal of temper, seeing that I sent you so fierce a challenge, and I applaud your meekness; doubtless you were conscious, after so grievous a sin, that it was better frankly to confess your fault than to persist in the error. You have attempted to stir up the wrath of St. George. I approve your determination.

But, my dear Langue, what are we doing? Jest in times like these? I cannot think there is any man possessed of common understanding, who does not see to what these rough storms are driving, by which all Christendom has been agitated now these many years. If there is anyone

ey to who sees what is to follow, and is not moved
guet by it, I say that such a man should either take
his place among the gods, or be classed with the
brutes in human form, ὧς εἰ θηρίον εἰ θεόν. But
here we have the true enjoyment, or rather the
true fruit, of friendship, namely, that the recol-
lection of a dear friend is not only a great relief
under all sorrow, but that it doth, in the midst
of most grave affairs, force a man to descend to
a certain relaxation of his mind. And this re-
freshing of the mind consists, more than any-
thing else, in that seemly play of humour which
is so natural, and so engrafted, so to speak, in
the characters of some of the wisest men, that
neither Socrates nor our own More could lose
their jest, even in the hour of death. So let us
even be merry.

Afric's parched land rings with the din of war.

The holders of Goletta and Tunis are, I believe,
Spaniards; yet men say they are shivering in
spite of all the heat, but that the Turk can make
no great movement this year for want of sea-
men; and the same is commonly reported of our
Queen. I think I told you that all our English
sailors have for some time past found employ-
ment in the Prince of Orange's ships. The Span-
iards have many stories to tell, some that John
of Austria is to go into Flanders with a large
force of Italians, others that he will be sent for

to Spain, others again that he will stay in Italy. Sidney. My belief is that Philip is using him as a Delphian sword, so as to let the world see he has a leader of such fame in hand, either for the Turk, or for France, if they have any designs against him; and to keep down by his presence any movement among his Italian subjects, which he begins to be afraid of, while at the same time the prospect of his coming may keep the Flemings to their duty. I hope, while he has all this to do, he may do nothing. The people of Ragusa contributed forty ships to fit out that Biscay fleet for Philip.

De Foix, the French ambassador at Rome, is held there in high honour; a common phrase enough, but one that peculiarly suits his case; for, as I have learned from a person whom I can trust, he is "held" so fast, that he cannot get away even if he wishes it. But enough of this. I conclude the Count of Hannau is by this time at Padua, for three days ago he was at Ferrara. I am this day expecting a letter from my father; if it brings any news, I will let you know: but I hope I shall be with you before my next letter, though, as I have not yet spoken with the Count, and therefore can form no certain plan, I hope you will answer this; and if your letter should come after my departure, I will take good care that it shall be sent after me to Vienna, and so the collection be increased. Corbett set

Languet out for Vienna yesterday, though I expect to Sidney will be forced to leave his servant behind him for he is too unwell to bear the fatigue of so long a march. Give my warmest greeting to Master Vulcobius, and to my good Bouchetell. What I wrote to you in a former letter about the French ambassador was a mistake. I had misunderstood du Ferrier, who told me of it. Farewell.

Venice, May 28, 1574.

Brusket sends you his humble duty.

Since I wrote the above, I hear that the Countess has arrived in safety at Padua.

To the most excellent Master Hubert Langens, my very dear friend, at Vienna.

XXVIII

Languet to Sidney

I ADMIRE the kindness and good feeling, dear Sidney, with which you sympathize with the misfortunes of good men, while you tremble lest the victory which the Spaniards have gained should prove the ruin of those who oppose their power in Belgium. I told you in my last letter what I think on the subject. What we hear since happened there, confirms my opinion more.

and more, since I see that the Spaniards are turning war into robbery, and are more intent on betraying and plundering their allies, than beating their enemies. I suppose you have heard in what a shameful manner they obtained possession of Antwerp after that victory of theirs, in which business I am at a loss to say whether the commander is to be charged with folly or treachery. Who will ever trust him again? What discipline can a man ever preserve in his army, who has untied its strongest band? An army that has tasted the plunder of friends, will never run the risk of winning it from an enemy. Though Alva did many things there which might be found fault with, not one of his acts was so disgraceful, nor would he ever have so sinned against the honour of a soldier. Champigny, the brother of Cardinal Granvelle, who commanded at Antwerp with five hundred men, has earned himself a glorious name by thus betraying a city committed to his keeping, though he denies that he had anything to do with the surrender, complains of those who contrived it, and says that he will go to Spain and lay the whole affair before the King. And to free himself from all suspicion of treason, he wished to lead his men to meet the Spaniards as they rushed into the city; or at least he pretended to wish it, but the commander ordered him to leave the city with his people. We will acquit him of treachery because

guet he is a Burgundian; still, he will never lose the
idney character of a fool, for taking such poor care of
the city which was entrusted to him. I am sorry
for the fate of the beautiful city, but I hope that
its misfortune will be useful to the Prince of
Orange, for the Walloons are beginning to be
disorderly, and fiercely demand their arrears of
pay, and were very near taking possession of
Louvain the other day. They are now at Brus-
sels, plundering the environs, and trying to ex-
tort money from the citizens by threats.

In the mean time Orange is making the most
of his circumstances. He has lately occupied the
town of Nimeguen, on the right bank of the
Meuse, so as to make incursions into Brabant
without interruption; they say that he is laying
down a bridge there. Three or four years ago
that town came by inheritance to the son of Ber-
laimont, who was distinguished among the no-
bles of Belgium for his devotion to the Spaniards,
and for the fatal counsel he gave them; and so
Orange, in seizing the city, not only makes a
good move, but in a manner takes revenge for
the injuries of his country and himself. Thus you
see that our party in Belgium is not in so des-
perate a case as your friends at Venice say.

When you receive this letter, if you have not
yet made arrangements for your journey, I
entreat you to let me know about it, and also

within what time you are likely to come hither, Land and whether I am to expect you here (if the Emperor should happen to leave this place before you return) or at Prague. For we hope that the Emperor will go in less than a month, and I hear that he has already sent into Bohemia with orders to summon the States on the first of July. But as this is generally done with the consent of the nobles, perhaps they will not agree to the day, and so the thing will be put off again. You will inform his Excellency the Count of this when he comes back to you.

We feel the heat here severe enough; wherefore I doubt not it troubles you where you are. You will be wise if you follow the example of the storks, and look out for better summer quarters. Four days ago a runner arrived here who left Constantinople on the fifth of this month. I received a letter from Ungnad, the Imperial ambassador, in which he tells me that Sinan Pasha, who lately succeeded in quelling the disturbances in Arabia Felix, is to command the fleet, which will sail from Constantinople about the beginning of next month. I shall say nothing of the tragedies in France, since I have no doubt you hear all that news sooner than we. I thought the Stratagem of the French King was printed, otherwise I should have been sorry to trouble you about it. When you come, I will tell you the

Sidney to occasion on which it was written, and by w
Languet which I must not trust to writing. Farewe

Vienna, May 21, 1574.

Nevers suffered here from severe pain i
leg, where he was wounded some years ago
suppuration has taken place and he is ge
better, so that I suppose he will go away in a
days.

XXIX

Sidney to Languet

THIS is the twenty-ninth letter I hav
ceived from you, my dearest Languet.
I came into Italy, and yet I have ever f
the last more acceptable and more delig
than any former one. And hence I discover,
I had conceived to be impossible, that my a
tion for you, which I thought did not adm
increase, has received a great augmentatio
this interval of time and space. You are the s
person, and your noble genius produces the s
fruit as ever; and yet, loving you as I do, I al
find that, although your former letters gav
such pleasure as I do not believe our merry f
Pietro found in his history of Pannonia, ne
theless, the last are so far superior in this res
that I fancy I have only sipped the former, v

I quaff the latter with the draught of a Saxon. Sidr
And so I entreat you, for a few days more re- Lan
ward me for my diligence; for his Excellency
the Count has resolved not to leave this place
for the next three weeks, and if I am to endure
the privation at all, I would rather that a letter of
yours should come hither after my departure,
than that I should have to stay here even for a
day or two without the pleasure of seeing you
in your handwriting, especially as I have taken
good care that your letters shall be sent back
without risk to Vienna. I am sorry indeed that
the Count has reserved, as it were, his journey
for all the heat. It has been only moderate hither-
to; but then without doubt it will be far other-
wise. But that is his affair. For myself, as I have
determined to be his companion in the march,
I have no doubt I shall bear it all as well as he.

I send you a letter from him, with one from
Welsburg and one from Goetz. They are all
marvellously attached to both you and me. We
have here a noble German, the Baron and Bur-
grave of Donau in Prussia. He has heard so much
of you that he greatly loves you, and desires
to be acquainted with you. To this end he has
been earnestly begging me to commend him to
your regard, which I do most particularly for his
satisfaction, though I am sure it will be as great
a pleasure to you as to him; for, in a word, he
is far superior in every kind of excellency to all

ney to the Germans who are staying here. I have just
nguet been interrupted by Monaw, a sensible and good
man, who greets you kindly.

You tell me to write you word whether I would rather meet you at Prague or Vienna. Be assured that nothing will please me more than to see you as soon as possible, provided it falls in with your convenience; and therefore I wish you would look at the case thus. Think of me as one who is truly attached to you, who, therefore, while he desires to enjoy your company with all speed, is still anxious that your advantage may be consulted; especially as it will make little difference, since if the Emperor is not at Vienna, wherever the court may be, thither the Count will forthwith proceed. I am delighted at what you say of the Spaniards. There is no news in Padua, except that our doctors are altogether out of fashion, and that is no news. I do not like the excessive politeness of that expression, "You would not have troubled me about the book, if you had not believed it to be in print." Why, even if I felt only ordinary affection for you, this sort of thing is so little and insignificant, that it really does not merit thanks. But you have deserved so much of me, that I doubt whether I shall ever feel such gratitude as I ought; and as to making return, I shall be utterly unable, unless God grant me more than I dare to hope. And therefore use not such elegant speech any

more, unless we are to have a new quarrel; and Lang
if so, be sure it will be more perilous than the to S
former. Pray tell Master Vulcobius that I do not
write to him now, because I have nothing worth
writing, and I doubt not he is somewhat dis-
quieted at the present. He may be sure that I
return his kindness with gratitude and love. Com-
mend me to my two English cousins, who I sup-
pose are still with you. Do not forget Bouchetell.
Farewell.

Your most affectionate and dutiful

Philip Sidney.

June 4, 1574.

XXX

Languet to Sidney

THOUGH I have received no letter from
you, I do not like to break my rule of writ-
ing to you, for now that the greater part
of my friends have sunk under various misfor-
tunes, almost the only pleasure I have comes
from the recollection of your friendship, and that
is most strongly impressed on my mind when I
write to you or read your letters. But as I fear
this may reach Venice after your departure, I
shall write so as not to be much concerned if
it falls into other hands; and such subjects as I
should have discussed more freely, I will keep

Languet till you come. The Spaniards are working t
to Sidney will at Antwerp, for neither the citizens nor
foreigners could produce as much money as t
demand. Those too who hold the new citadel
in mutiny; they have killed some of their offic
and keep the people of Antwerp in conster
tion by firing the great guns. The deputie
those provinces which adhere to the King h
assembled at Brussels; the commander ca
them together to consult them on state aff
especially on the means of raising money to
the troops. But the commander has not g
thither because the state of Antwerp detain
him, and the people of Brussels are in the gr
est terror of the Walloons, who are plunder
the villages round about the city and try to
tort money from them by horrible threats.
Spaniards, Germans, and Walloons, who ar
Holland, the bishopric of Utrecht, and Guel
follow the example of the rest, and demand t
pay mutinously; and wherever they march, p
der the country. They tried to seize Utrecht;
the citizens had learned a lesson from the
of Antwerp; they flew to arms and bravely
pulsed them, killing forty or fifty of them. T
the victory which the Spaniards gained over
enemy seems to have brought more miscl
than profit to the King. Meantime Orange
laid down a bridge over the Meuse near B
mel, so as to have his line of march open

Brabant, and at each bridge-head he has built a fort for its protection. After that he went into Zealand, to fit out his fleet, because he learned the Spanish fleet was coming, and is determined to give them battle. I believe you had heard that Count Annibal of Ems, brother of the Cardinal of Constance, had raised two legions, or, as we call them, regiments of foot, for the King of Spain, which he has to take into Belgium. A party of the French cavalry, who were going to join the Palatine Christopher, but retired when they heard of the defeat of his army, fell upon Count Annibal as he was marching from Strassburg to Saverne in Alsace, killed some of his men, and pursued him as he fled, wounded in two places, as far as Saverne.

Vienna, May 28, 1574.

XXXI

Sidney to Languet

I HAVE received your letter, my dearest Hubert, in which, though you say nothing which clearly expresses your feelings, fearing, I suppose, lest it should fall into other hands in my absence, still I, who know you so well, easily perceive the extreme sorrow under which you labour. There are many circumstances which

Sidney to
Languet make me sure of it, and this especially, that you
pen, which is wont to overflow with its current
of eloquence, now seems to glide on as a quiet
stream may, with a kind of gentle murmur; and
though it is employed on a different subject, I
may see plainly enough what it is you have
the depths of your heart. I should be unworthy
of the nature of man, if I did not lament for
my soul this suffering of my best friend, and
therefore I will not thus attempt to relieve your
distress, I mean, by enlarging on my own. You
know me well, that I am neither a brute, nor
a man of bronze. But as I have done in former
letters, I entreat you most earnestly, leave this
ungrateful soil which you have cultivated now
many years, and reaped no fruit, or almost none,
and come to those who love you most truly,
and are no Laodiceans. And be not deterred by
the dangers which, it may be, are hanging over
my country; for you, who have in your hands
all the story of all the nations in the world, are
well aware that the only persons who have ever
suffered injury from that quarter are the English
nobles themselves.

But more of this, my dear Languet, when we
meet. Certain intelligence reached this city to-day
before yesterday, which confirmed the report
of the French king's death, adding that the
Queen, his mother, was appointed regent until
the King of Poland shall be able to return. Mean-

time Alençon, Navarre, and Montmorency remain prisoners. It is a strange event. I am at a loss what to think of it, whether his death is a wound to our cause, or, as I hope, a healing salve. The Almighty is ordering Christendom with a wonderful providence in these our days. It is said that Montpensier has taken Montgomery prisoner; but I do not believe it.

To-morrow, Selim's physician, a Jew, is to treat with the Venetians of concluding a peace on settled terms. I will write you word what takes place. The illustrious commander is endeavouring to repress the disorders of the Spaniards, or, at least, pretends to do so. This is the man who prized so highly the opportunity of displaying his own folly. I do trust that, before many years are past, the virtues of these Spaniards will be understood by the whole world. They were born slaves, and have done nothing ever since (as if to make bad worse) but change their masters; for they have always been servants of Carthaginians, Romans, Vandals, Goths, Saracens, or Moors: of late, indeed, they have been somewhat raised by the character of one man, Charles; and he was a Belgian; and since his death all the world sees with what speed they are hastening back to their original condition.

The Count of Hannau has not received your letter from the Palatine, but has been waiting for it to the present time. Count Solms, who came

guet from thence the other day, says, indeed, that it
Sidney will soon be sent hither; neither have I received
the letter which I told you my father had sent
for me. For the merchant who had it, went to
Rome, but he will be here again in ten days.
Farewell; my dutiful respects to Master Vulco-
bius and to Bouchetell. Yours from my heart,
Philip Sidney.

Venice, June, 1574.

XXXII

Languet to Sidney

MASTER Corbett showed me your portrait,
which I kept with me some hours to feast
my eyes on it, but my appetite was rather
increased than diminished by the sight. It seems
to me to represent some one like you rather
than yourself, and, at first, I thought it was your
brother. Most of your features are well drawn,
but it is far more juvenile than it ought to be;
I should think you were not unlike it in your
twelfth or thirteenth year. Master Corbett gave
me another copy of that noble Stratagem, for
which I thank him and you. The one which you
sent me before I gave to Vulcobius in your name.
The ancients accorded the name of "stratagem"
to any wise counsel by which the commander of
an army brought about the preservation of his
own men when in peril, or the overthrow of his

enemy. But, nowadays, after your Italian school, Lan we give to vices the names of virtues, and are not to S ashamed to call falsehood, treachery, and cruelty by the names of wisdom and magnanimity. The conflagration which rages in France, I believe can be extinguished only by its fall. I know not whether your countrymen have consulted their own interests in letting Montgomery be overpowered in their very neighbourhood. His capture is exulted in by the Papists as much as if the war was ended; but if it is true, as we hear, that the King of France is dead, their joy will be diluted, lest they be too much intoxicated.

Vienna, June 11, 1574.

XXXIII

Languet to Sidney

I WOULD gladly give all that is dearest and most precious to me in the world, to have you here with us now, that you might be made known to the King of France, and form an acquaintance with some of his suite. It would be useful to you, if ever you return to the French court, as you seem to intend. I mentioned you to Montmorino, who is here, and begged him to regard you as a friend if you go back to France. He replied that wherever he met you he would

guet show you all friendly attention; and he offers
Sidney to receive you in his own house, if you cannot
find better lodging at the court (which will often
be the case), and he requested me to send you
his humble service. My dearest Sidney, I wish
more than ever to talk with you on certain sub-
jects which concern yourself, and which I may
not trust to writing.

I greatly fear the death of the French king will
still more inflame religious animosities among
Christians, and that the princes who differ, will
rush still more violently to their destruction. We
shall see what this king will do when he returns
to France. Those who know him well, say that he
has resolved to grant free pardon to all offenders,
and to embrace all who are willing, in his friend-
ship. I hope he may mean what he says, and
do it; but men do not frighten birds when they
want to catch them. I wish he would follow the
example of his ancestor, Louis XII. He had, in
the lifetime of Charles VIII, many enemies, and
some who put his life in peril; yet when he be-
came king, he frankly forgave them everything,
and when his friends wondered that he took no
revenge for all his wrongs, he answered that the
King of France had nothing to do with the wrongs
of the Duc d'Orleans: a saying well worthy of a
high-minded, wise, and good prince, as I believe
him to have been—so much so that I prefer
him to any other king France ever had. Our pre-

sent king will find great difficulty from the religious dissensions. He has written already, I hear, to the Prince of Condé, making him friendly offers, and urging him to return into France, which I suspect he will hardly persuade him to do, for I hear from Strasburg that Condé has there made a public confession that he grievously sinned against God, when, after the massacre of Paris, under fear of death he went to mass, and entreats pardon from God and the Church. They say he is raising troops; I suppose to take them into France with him. The King arrived here yesterday, at four o'clock, in the same carriage with the Emperor, who met him at Tabor, a place on an island in the Danube, where the river dues are paid. The Archdukes Mathias and Maximilian met him beyond the Danube. King Rudolph and Archduke Ernest will be here soon, for the Emperor desires them to hasten their return. The King stayed a day in the fort of Wolkesdorf, three miles from this place, that his servants might have their mourning made for them here: they could not do it at Cracow on account of the suddenness of his departure. Pibrac, a man so distinguished for genius, learning, and eloquence, that I believe France does not possess his equal, was lost in a forest by his party, owing to their excessive haste. His friends here suppose that he has been caught by the Poles, who wished to carry back the fugitives, or that by

Languet some other mischance he has perished. But
to Sidney this when we meet. Some persons think that
King will go to Venice, and will return to France
through the Tyrol; which is not likely. I believe
will go through the Austrian dominions straight
to the Rhine. You know what were the last words
of Pompey, and you remember the ring of
Cœur de Lion. These things make me anxious.

I hope your countrymen will reach Prague
day. I have found them a companion, or rather
a guide, for their journey, who is well acquainted
with the country into which they are going.
I gave them letters to my friends at Prague
and at Nuremberg, who, I hope, will show them
some attention. At Augsburg your friend Bizer
will take care, by his infinite beneficence towards
them, to cast reproach on your country for the
ingratitude with which you treated him.
to bind you to him for ever; so I advise you
consider at your leisure how you may in some
degree respond to all his kindness. If you
find an opportunity of paying your respects
the King in this journey of his, I hope you
by all means avail yourself of it. You could
the assistance of Montmorino, or, if he should
absent, of Bellievre, to whom I will commend
you. I cannot say how long he will remain here.
No doubt he will make all speed as far as
Emperor will permit him, for it is his interest
do so. The Gueux, when they captured the

at Antwerp, about which I wrote before, took Lan-
at the same time some others in the harbour of to S
Amsterdam. The Spaniards have at length left
Antwerp with full purses and splendid clothing.
The commander seems to meditate the siege
of Bommel. His Swiss levies are halting in Bur-
gundy, and declare they will not move farther
until the arrival of the Spaniards and Italians,
who, as the commander promised, were to march
with them. The mishap of Count Annibal of
Ems makes them either more prudent or more
timid. The Huguenots still hold the forts which
they took possession of in the Vosges near the fa-
mous Pfalzburg. Farewell, and greet my friends.
I do not write to them because I am much occu-
pied, as you may readily suppose.

Vienna, June 25, 1574.

I have just heard that Pibrac arrived here yes-
terday evening after various mischances and
much suffering. I was greatly delighted to hear it.

XXXIV

Languet to Sidney

I WROTE to you three days ago, and told
you of the King's departure from Poland and
arrival here; no doubt the rumour of it trav-

Languet
to Sidney

elled faster than my letter, which, perhaps, not reach you so soon as this. I said I thought he would not go to Venice, because he could travel a much shorter and more convenient route through the Austrian territory into Lorraine, as to place himself in the power of no prince except the Emperor, in whose hands he is already. But I was wrong, for he will rather pass the Alps twice, enduring the heat and dust of your Italy, and reaching his country by a long circuit (though his interests require haste), than conform any longer to the strict ways of the Germans. Yet I am willing to look on the case with more indulgence, and to believe that he has determined on this route that he may see Venice and contract a closer alliance with that state with the neighbouring princes. Would that when he treads the soil on which his ancestors a few years since achieved such noble deeds, he could be moved to imitate their virtues; and especially to study the protection of his own people, and their defence from harm, which was always his most sacred duty. We, on the contrary, now for some years past, are using all our efforts to ruin those whom God has committed to our care, and who are our most faithful friends; and for this end we ask counsel of those whose greatest joy it would be to see our fall; and we are meantime compelled basely to fawn upon them.

and to expose to shame all of ancient dignity that yet remains in our nation. But my grief carries me away and leads me from my subject.

If the rumour of the King's approach shall reach you before you come away, you will doubtless wish to be a spectator of the ceremony with which the Venetians will receive him. I am sure it will be magnificent, and well worth beholding. I advise you to do what you can to become known to the King. You will be able to do so through Du Ferrier, or Montmorino, or Pibrac, or Bellievre. Du Ferrier you know well. Montmorino, too, knows you and loves you. I have mentioned you in fitting terms to Bellievre and Pibrac, from each of whom I have received the strongest expressions of good-will. You will remember, however, that in the midst of hurry and tumult you must watch for your opportunity and not be too bashful. I have not space to describe how the King and his attendants came away from Poland, and how courteously he was received by the Emperor. I will defer it till your return. Yet, if you wish, you may hear it all from those who are with the King, and especially from my old friend M. de la Beurthe, who will give you this letter. I write this hastily, having scarcely recovered from yesterday's excesses; for hurrying about as we do in all this heat, we some-

Languet times drink more without any solicitation, t
to Sidney is altogether good for our health. Farewell.

Vienna, June 28, 1574.

XXXV

Languet to Sidney

I WAS jesting the other day about the sickness
of Master Richard, your countryman and k
man, because I had heard that his physician
laughed at his timidity in fearing so much fr
an attack which was not at all dangerous.
alas! he made a more just calculation of his d
ger than the physicians, as I learn from a sec
letter from our friend Corbett, who writes in
spair of Richard's condition. He was at the po
of death, given over by his physicians. This
fair has greatly afflicted me: my regard for y
makes me feel the misfortunes of those who
any way connected with you. And besides
seems a case which calls for compassion, that
should be snatched from his country in the ve
flower of life, especially as his natural ger
had been improved by letters and much g
eral knowledge. Corbett's letter shows that
is greatly disturbed, and I do not wonder at
He consults me about his own affairs, and a
whether he shall pursue his journey when he l

lost his companion, as he hears that troops are Lan
being raised in the places through which his road to S
lies, and that all the country about the Rhine
and Lorraine is in a state of great confusion. But
as he intimates that he will not leave Prague
until he receives my reply, I have written to
him to say what I think he should do.

Your letter, in which you tell me that you have
given up all thoughts of a journey to Rome, has
relieved me from great anxiety. You know that
I have requested this one thing of you in right
of our friendship; see that you keep your pro-
mise, for I shall diligently preserve your letter,
like a debtor's note of hand, that I may have my
action against you, if you deceive me. It almost
killed me to learn from your letter that you had
been suffering severe pain in your head, and
had been drinking water so immoderately, and
had hardly escaped a pleurisy. This, my dear Sid-
ney, I foresaw and feared, and therefore advised
you to wait for your companions, provided they
did not put off their departure until after mid-
summer. But midsummer is now past, thirty-five
days, and I cannot conceive on what ground
they delay their journey until August, the month
in which men are most liable to sickness, and
which, as the poet says, "brings on fevers and
uncloses wills." If you love me, take good care
of your health, and on this point have consid-
eration for yourself and not for others. If any

Languet to Sidney misfortune befall you, I shall be the most happy of men; for the only thing that gives pleasure is our friendship, and the hopes I have conceived of your character. For the ruin of my country, and the calamities which have lately befallen my friends, have made my life more mournful than death itself.

I think the King of France will make haste to his kingdom, for many persons affirm that troops are being raised in Germany to be led into France. Some say Prince Casimir is to command them, others Condé. Many difficulties, however, may arise to stop the whole enterprise, especially since they are not well furnished with money, and there are few in Germany who look on them with a favourable eye. I am glad you have become known to M. Perrot, an excellent and most kind-hearted man. I beg you will give him respectfully from me, if he is with you. I trust that you have had enough of Venetian spectacles, and will at length come back to France. Indeed, if the weather has been the same with you as with us, you have missed a very fair opportunity. For the excessive heat which gave us much inconvenience through all the month of June, has been greatly moderated for some days past; but I fear it may return. Excuse me to the Excellency the Count, and his attendants, for not writing to them. I did not know they would remain there so long. If they say that I must ha-

thought the same of you, and yet do not give Lan
up my custom of writing to you, I reply that I to S
care very little for the loss of my letters to you,
since they usually contain only the most trifling
of trifles. I mean my own foolish feelings which
I throw into the paper as they arise only to fill
it up, and to satisfy your curiosity, since you de-
sire to hear from me. Besides, you told me you
had taken good care that my letters should not
be lost even if they arrived after your departure.
I wish you all happiness.

Vienna, July 17, 1574.

XXXVI

Languet to Sidney

YOU seem to me to be somewhat too hard
upon Pibrac. I am accustomed to judge of
men otherwise than most persons do; unless
they are utterly depraved (for I do not think
such men's vices ought to be concealed), I cull
out their good qualities if they have any; and if
through error or weakness they fail in any point,
I put it out of sight as far as I can. Pibrac is a man
of such genius, learning, and eloquence, that I do
not believe his equal is to be found in France.
He has much kind feeling, and befriends good
men whenever he can, and I do not believe he

Languet ever advised an unprincipled course of conc
to Sidney On the day on which the King avowed in
parliament of Paris, that the Admiral and
friends had been slain at his bidding and
his authority, Pibrac delivered in his presence
a plain speech, in which he advised him to
more freedom than the times allowed, to
a stop to bloodshed altogether, whilst the
gave their voices to the King, and approved
monstrous crime. Cavagnes, who was put
death with de Briquemaut, and Custosius, a
fessor of Jurisprudence at Strasburg, were for
in his house, and this circumstance was almost
his ruin, for many thought he should be put
of the way. He was compelled to save himself
by that letter, for which you find fault with
so grievously. I by no means admire his conduct,
duct, for, as the poet says,

Though Phalaris place his bull before thine eye
And frowning dictate to thy lips a lie;
Think it the height of baseness breath to choose
Ere honour, and life's end for life to lose.

I am no Stoic, nor do I hold that all sins
equal. But it is a fault of my countrymen, that
if an eminent man errs in the smallest thing, they
at once class him with the most abandoned
men. My nature and education make me distant
from them. I know that many persons blame
me for this, and say I have it from my master

Melancthon. I have never yet repented of my Lan-
master, nor of my education, nor will I be se- to S
duced to give them up by the animadversions
of men who are more strict, or more bitter, than
myself.

If you had been in good health, I should have
been amused at your complaints of the ungra-
cious behaviour of your friends who went away
without bidding you farewell. You imagine, per-
haps, my dearest Sidney, that all men have the
same obliging character as yourself. Unless you
alter your opinion, you will be always meeting
with persons who will excite your wrath and
give you cause for complaining. I consider that
in these days men do a great deal, if they do
not actually betray their friends; any additional
good feeling must be set down as clear gain,
as something over and above the conditions of
ordinary friendship. I see, however, by your last
letter that you have digested your wrath, and
suffered yourself to be talked over, and so you
set right in words what is past mending in deeds.
You will have to adopt this plan many times be-
fore you reach my age, unless you wish to pass
your whole life in quarrelling. I have opened
Lobetius' letter to you, because you desire it, and
Corbett's too, which is written in your language,
and therefore I could not understand it. I think,
however, he gives you the same account of Rich-
ard's illness as he gave me. Lobetius writes that

Sidney to he has made diligent enquiries about Aubert
the Earl of has not yet learned anything of him. Greet
Leicester ter Perrot, whom I desire to relieve of his anx
The Roman pontiff and the Spaniards will
suade this new King that he will never be o
danger while a single man of our way of th
ing survives in France. But our friends will n
themselves be crushed, and thus there wi
endless troubles. I can pardon those whose y
prevents them from understanding the ma
but I am surprised at old men long verse
politics, who see from how small a begin
after the tragedy of Paris, our friends have
vanced to their present strong position, and
aware that their own strength has been gro
diminished in the mean time, and yet clin
their foolish purpose of ruining themselves
us together. Farewell, and greet my friend

Vienna, July 24. 1574.

XXXVII

Sidney to the Earl of Leicester

[Original in English]

RIGHTE honorable and my singular g
Lorde and Unkle, although I have at
presente little matter worthy the writ
unto your Lordshipe, yet beinge newlie retu

frome my Polish journei, I would not omitt anie Sidney
occasion of humbly performing this dutie. Where- the Earl
fore I humbly beseeche your L. to take these Leicest
fewe lines in good parte, whiche I write rather to
continew this [dutie] I ow unto you, than for any
other thinge they may conteine in them. The
Emperour as I wrote last unto to your L. hath
these two yeares continuallie pretended a jour-
ney to Prage, which it is thoughte shall indeede
be performed to the grate contentacion of that
kingedom, which otherwise seemed to bend to
disobedience. There it is thoughte his Son shall
very shortlie be Kinge; whome likewise the Em-
perour seekes by all meanes possible to advance
to the kingdom of the Romaines, and for that pur-
pose desynes to call an Imperiall diett in Franc-
fort the [place] appointed for the elections: but
it is thoughte the Electours will rather chose an-
other [place] for this next ensuing diett whiche
is saide shall be sommer followinge at the far-
[thest] and then there is no hope of Election. Not
beinge at Frankfort, it is likely it shall be at Re-
gensburg, where I beleve the Emperour will
demaunde fur greater summes of money than
will be graunted unto him. Though the peace
betwixt the Turke and him [be not] as yet, as
fur as it is knowne perfittlie concluded, yet it is
thoughte the Turke will rather proceede by sea
than this waie, and as the French embassadour
hath writtne, mean[eth] to visite the Pope's ter-

Sidney to ritorie, perchaunce his conscience moveth him
the Earlof to seeke the benefitt of [the] Jubile. I hope as
Leicester the Spaniardes alreddy begin to speake lower,
so the Pope's Holinesse will have lesse leasure
to ministre such wicked and detestable cown-
cills to the Chris[tian] Princes, as hetherto he
dothe. Owt of Frawnce your L. hath the ad-
vertisements. The Prince of Condè is retired to
Basill where he liveth in companie with the Ad-
mirals children, beinge frustrate of a great hope
he had conceaved of suckowr out of Jermamy,
wherein many and wise men do impute greate
faulte to the Prince Casimire, the Count Pala-
tine's second son, in so muche that to write to
your L. plainly he is heavilie s[uspected] to be
corrupted by the Frenche. His Father certainly
is as vertuous a Prince as livethe; he sufferethe
him selfe to muche to be governed by that Son.
This I thoughte my duty [to] write, as havinge
hearde it in very good place and much affec-
tioned to the true cawse. The Polakes hartily re-
pente their so far fetcht election beinge now in
suche case [as] neither they have the Kinge, nor
any thinge the Kinge with so many othes had
promised, besides that there is lately sturred up
a very dangerous sedition for the same c[ause]
that hathe bredde suche lamentable ruines in
France and Flandres. Now the — is reasonably
well appeased, but it is thoughte it will remaine
so but a while.

I have no other thinge worthy the writinge Lan
at this presente to your L. Wherefore I hum- to S
bly ceasse, withe my dailie and most boundne
praiers that it please the eternall to continew
and encrease you in all prosperitie. Your L.
most —.

Philippe Sidney.

From Vienna this 27 Novembre, 1574.

XXXVIII

Languet to Sidney

SINCE your departure many things have
come into my mind which I thought of
writing to you, but as soon as ever I take
my pen in hand, and fix my thoughts on you,
my spirits are so disturbed with grief that I for-
get all that I had previously thought of. I will
write, nevertheless, without arrangement what-
ever comes into my mind. Two days after your
departure our friend Wotton came to us, bring-
ing me a letter full of kindness from Master Wal-
singham. I see that your friends have begun to
suspect you on the score of religion, because at
Venice you were so intimate with those who
profess a different creed from your own. I will
write to Master Walsingham on this subject,
and if he has entertained such a thought about

guet you, I will do what I can to remove it; and I
dney hope my letter will have sufficient weight with
him not only to make him believe what I shall
say of you, but also endeavour to convince others
of the same. Meantime I advise you to make ac-
quaintance where you now are, with the French
ministers, who are learned and sensible men;
invite them to visit you and hear their sermons,
and do the same at Heidelberg and Strasburg.

I am glad your friend Wotton is going to
join you, that so you may have a pleasant and
attached companion, one who loves you well,
and can relieve the dullness of your journey; I
wish Master Jaques Gonsius, my countryman,
could give you his company. I know not why
you should have desired Wotton to sign his name
to the bond which you have left with me. You
wrong me if you imagine I trust anyone more
than yourself. Do not be disturbed if it happens
that you cannot do as you wish about the money
which you have borrowed of me, and do not
suppose my affection for you will be lessened
on that ground; I am even now writing to Doctor
Glauburg and Wechel to let you have money
on my security, if by any chance your supplies
for the rest of your journey should fail you. I will
write again in three days. Farewell, my dearest
son.

Prague, March 10, 1575.

XXXIX

Languet to Sidney

YOU see how long the Emperor is lingering here, for the assembly was opened the very day on which you and I arrived here. No business of any great importance has yet been transacted in it. The Emperor has not yet declared to the Bohemians his intention regarding the confession of faith which they presented to him in the month of May; on the other hand, they refuse to consider the question of supplies, and the other matters on which he addressed them, until they have received his answer. At present they have adjourned their deliberations on account of the harvest, and are going to their homes, intending to return hither about the tenth of next month. The Emperor will scarce be able to conclude his affairs here before the meeting of the electors, which they say is to be called at Ratisbon on the twenty-sixth of September. I wish you had remained so long in Germany; you would never have repented of being present at the solemnity, which will bring together most of the princes of Germany, and many eminent men of various nations.

Now I am going to confess my own clownishness, to use no harsher term. As long as I enjoyed the sight of you, I made no great account of the portrait which you gave me, and scarcely

Languet thanked you for so beautiful a present. I was
to Sidney by regret for you, on my return from Frankfurt
to place it in a frame and fix it in a conspicuous
place. When I had done this, it appeared to
to be so beautiful, and so strongly to resemble
you, that I possess nothing which I value more.
Master Vulcobius is so struck with its elegance
that he is looking for an artist to copy it. The
painter has represented you sad and thoughtful.
I should have been better pleased if your face
had worn a more cheerful look when you sat
the painting. Farewell.

Sixth of June, a sacred day to the Bohemians
on account of John Huss, who, on this day, suf-
fered at Constance, one hundred and sixty years
ago. The respect they pay to his memory looks
to me very like superstition. 1575.

Greet my friends if you yet have any with you
that remember me, and especially Master Wotton,
your faithful companion. Bekessius, the Transyl-
vanian exile whom you knew here, has
hastily collected troops in Poland and the nei-
bouring parts of Moldavia, twenty days since
invaded Transylvania. Some say that a good many
of the Emperor's soldiers from the garrisons of
Hungary have joined him. I fear we are putting
our hands into a wasps' nest, for the Turks will
overlook this business, seeing that Transylvania
is under their protection.

Languet to Sidney

I HAVE received no letter from you except the short one which you wrote to me from Heidelberg. Perhaps you feared I should weary you by my many letters, and beg for answers with the same importunity as when you were staying in Italy. I was playing with you then, that I might move you to write, believing that the habit of writing was an important part of your studies. But now you are entering on a far different manner of life. I know that a court is by no means a frugal œconomist of time. I know that you will have to attend to your friends and acquaintances, who will desire the pleasure of your society, and to wait on those whose age and rank demand the respect of young men, and therefore, as I am aware that you were not overfond of writing when you had more leisure, I expect that these frequent interruptions of friends will easily prevail on you to write seldom or never; nor do I care now to write so often, or to send you the silly jesting letters which I formerly did; but I had designed to write to you on public affairs, trusting that letters on such matters would not be disagreeable to you, since I know that you feel the strongest desire to learn the state of things in those nations with which we have any relations, and the changes that may

Sidney to the Count of Hannau occur among them. And as this desire is in itself most praiseworthy and almost necessary to those who aspire to be statesmen, no one shall easily make me believe that you are altogether neglecting it. If you would only write in reply to have received your letter; I am in good health. I am going to be married in a few days," or anything else of this kind, I should be abundantly satisfied. Or if it should not please you to do this, it would be enough to desire our friend Griffin to write so much to me.

Prague, Midsummer, 1575.

XLI

Sidney to the Count of Hannau

EXCELLENT Sir: On my return to my country, my first duty is to acquaint your Excellency with the fact without delay. I have received such strong indications of your regard for me, that I am glad to believe you will be pleased to hear of any good that may befall me. On the last day of May, a fair wind wafted me to this our island nest, where I found all my family well. The Queen, though somewhat advanced in years, yet hitherto vigorous in health, which as it is God's will that our safety should hang on so frail a thread, is with great

reason earnestly commended to the care of Al- Lang
mighty God in the prayers of our people. She to S
is to us a Meleager's brand; when it perishes,
farewell to all our quietness. But to pass from
this subject, I beg and entreat you to be assured,
that wherever I may be, I am unchanged in the
strong and faithful affection with which I regard
you. I will no longer detain your Excellency,
for I have no news to communicate. I only beg
that I may be heartily commended to that good
and wise gentleman, Paul von Welsburg; and al-
though I know that his worth and your good sense
render this unnecessary, yet I must ask permis-
sion to recommend him to your regard. Farewell,
your most devoted

Philip Sidney.

London, June 12, 1575.

To his Excellency, Philip Lewis, Count of Han-
nau, my much respected friend at Frankfort.

XLII

Languet to Sidney

THE sorrow I felt at your absence was greatly
relieved by the letter which you wrote to
me from London in the month of June, in
which you inform me that you have not only
happily escaped the perils which belong to a

Languet journey, but that you are also almost resto
to Sidney your health. It contains such evidence of
attachment to me, and is written with such
gance and ability, that it would easily have
suaded me to love and admire you, even
sweetness of your character, your thought
ness, and the extent of your knowledge, far
yond your years, had not effected this already.
know it is almost absurd to beg of you, that
the turmoil of a court and so many tempta
to waste time, you will not altogether give u
practice of the Latin language. Still, as the
ter shows what progress you have made
and how well you can write when you a
your mind to it, if you cast away the s
altogether, I shall be compelled to charge
with doing it through indolence and love of
See how I repay you for your pleasant letter
trying to persuade you to undertake a pu
which in men of your condition is generally
to mark the absence of common sense.

I will add from the letter of M. Ungnad, th
perhaps you have heard it from other qua
that Cicala, the Genoese, who almost before
was a man, was made Præfect of the Prætor
or, as they call it, Aga of the Janizaries, is in
favour with Amurath that they say he is g
to give him his daughter in marriage, a
eleven years old. These are the baits which
catch the hearts of Italians, and tempt the

betray their country; and I fear the religion of Lan most of them will be no match for such arts. The to S other day, as I hear, a Mantuan was made Pasha of Alexandria in Egypt, a man who was taken nine years ago at Szigeth, renounced Christianity, and became a Mussulman. The princes of Italy seem to pay little regard to these facts. They are engaged in the most childish rivalries with each other, and trying to obtain the kingly title. There are even some of them, I hear, who are intriguing to have the royal dignity annexed to their dominions, which, for aught they know, will shortly become districts for Beglerbegs and Sanjaks. I am surprised at this new form of madness. They are negotiating here at court about these trifles with such earnestness as to supply us with ample food for mirth.

May God grant that our excellent young friend Wotton's new purpose of matrimony may prove successful and happy. He is going before to set you an example; but I believe you are well inclined of yourself and do not need exhortation. You see how I am led on by my love of babbling with you, which hardly permits me to leave off. I esteem it the highest favour that your noble parents have thought me worthy of their good wishes. I would I could in any way testify that I am most desirous to serve them. Farewell, and greet my friends.

Prague, August 13, 1575.

WE are here rejoicing just now over the Roman pontiff, because the Bohemians have at length extracted from the Emperor that religious liberty for which they have been so long and so earnestly contending. The Emperor endeavoured to elude their petition by various ways, and a few days before he yielded to them, he seemed to be treating them with more asperity than before. But this very asperity fixed them more firmly in their resolution, and suggested to them the thought of breaking up the assembly. As soon as the Emperor heard of this, he thought it better to give way to necessity than to alienate them altogether by opposition. Therefore, on the second of this month he said he granted them permission to profess the religion which is represented by the confession of faith exhibited to him in May; and that he committed upon himself their protection, and that he promised this not in French sincerity, but on the old faith of Bohemia, in the name of himself and his successor. He added that his sons were inclined to be attached to the religion which is commonly called Catholic, but that he had so instructed them, that they who held a different creed should have no cause to fear them, and that they had been grossly wronged by those persons who, after the

sacre of Paris, charged them with forming a conspiracy against certain nobles of Austria who held the reformed doctrines. I am surprised that the Emperor should have remarked thus severely on the French in so large an assembly, because he appears in general to affect a character for moderation, and to inveigh thus against other nations and princes is equivalent to declaring war with them. I suspect that he has lately been somehow thwarted by my countrymen in Poland, for it is too absurd and childish to suppose that it was they who persuaded the Turks to invade Hungary, which is the common report here; as if the most sagacious men of the day would suffer themselves to be led by us, or ask our advice, when they are so well acquainted with our folly. By this concession of liberty in religion, the Emperor has smoothed the way to obtain what he requires from the Bohemians, who on the sixth of this month nominated his son, Rudolph, King of Bohemia; his inauguration will take place on next Thursday.

Prague, September 18, 1575.

Languet to Sidney

I AM sorry that at your age your health should be so uncertain; perhaps you are not so because you are in too good case; as long as you were travelling and not in such high condition, your health was good, excepting the illness which you suffered shortly before you came to us, and which I trust you will not bring back by too violent exercise, or in any other way. When you write in jest about a wife, I take seriously. Be not too confident in your firmness; more cautious men than you are sometimes caught. On my part, I should be glad if you were caught, that so you might give to your country sons an example of yourself. Whatever is to happen in the matter, I pray God it may turn out well and happily for you. You see with what high courage our friend Wotton has passed through this peril; his behaviour seems to convict you of cowardice. Despatches have a good deal to do with the matter, and so you must not suppose that by your own foresight you can so conduct it as to be entirely happy, and that all shall turn out as you desire.

If that which you write, of the reasons why the Spaniards hate you, does not convince your countrymen that you should be on your guard against them, it will be vain for any man to try to persuade them. No doubt your Englishmen desire

that they are such men as the old Talbots and Lang Chandoses. Let them, however, reflect that Spain to Si was the first province out of Italy which submitted to the Roman yoke, and that now the Spaniards are masters of a large part of Italy. Some, indeed, say that the King of Spain is so overwhelmed with debt, that he cannot undertake any great enterprise. They do not reflect that he has it in his power not to pay his debts, and that the princes of the present age hold it foolish to keep faith, when any inconvenience results to them from it. Others say, and with reason, that the King of Spain is not ambitious, but his people are most ambitious and full of contempt for all other nations; and we read that Corbulo, Aetius, Charles Martel, and many others, have done great things under the most supine monarchs. John of Austria is now in the flower of his age, and beloved by the army. If the affairs of Belgium should be brought to a settlement, the King of Spain has an army there in high training and accustomed to the sweets of plunder, and the provinces will never flourish till they are relieved of it. Thus it would be an advantage to the King that this army should be led into England, even though it was sure to perish there. And yet your politeness is so conspicuous that you permit the Spanish fleets to examine your harbours at leisure, and be in them as long as they please.

Languet The kingdom of France was, in times past
to Sidney barrier that stopped the ambition of Spain;
now our affairs have come to such a pass,
I fear we shall yet be the servants of the Spaniards,
while the Papists, tired of war, and knowing
by much experience how little they can depend
on the King, will call in the Spaniards to
place themselves under their protection. And
I believe they would do, if the Belgian question
was settled. The Turks, indeed, will give the
Spaniards work to do in Italy and Sicily; but
Amurath who has lately come to the throne does
not seem likely to be very active; he is ruled
by the counsels of the old Pasha Mohammed,
who will never advise him to undertake any enter-
prise which carries risk with it.

Vienna, December 3, 1575.

XLV

Languet to Sidney

I AM convinced from the letter which you wrote
to me from London on the twenty-first of June
that you had intended to tell me nothing of
your journey to Ireland, unless my letter
reached you just before your departure;
some time previous, you had written word of
your intention to other friends, who informed

of it, and you were equipped for your expedition when you wrote to me. Perhaps you were afraid I should not wish you "bon voyage," and thought that others bore better will to you than I. However, as such complaints have hitherto only made you think so poorly of me, I will refrain from them now and simply bewail my ill luck. I admire your dutiful affection which does not allow your noble father to remain any longer without seeing you, and I rejoice that you do not fear the trouble and danger of so long a journey, provided you give him the great pleasure which he will surely feel at seeing you adorned with all those attainments which wise men wish for their sons, even when they dare not hope for them. I do, indeed, admire your excellent purpose, but when I think upon the rugged mountains of Wales, and that stormy Irish sea, and the autumnal season, everywhere unhealthy, I am strangely troubled with anxiety for you. And therefore by the love which you once bore me, I entreat you as soon as you have returned to the repose and delights of your court, to let me hear of your safety, and relieve me of the fear which, as the old poet says, "tortures me and wrings my heart." You will no doubt write to us a careful account of the marvels of Ireland, and send us a specimen of the birds which, they say, grow upon the trees there.

I am enjoying here great pleasure from the so-

Languet ciety of Dr. Andreas Paulus, with whom I a
to Sidney ing, and many other friends whom I find
you too, if you had made an excursion this
would have met with not a few, and you m
have enjoyed the conversation of many
nent men, especially of Master Lazarus Schu
whom I have often mentioned to you. C
Solms and the Baron von Donau, who lov
much, send their greeting. I send you a bo
Persian affairs which I mentioned in a forme
ter; when you have read it, you will per
that we do not think so highly of the pow
that country. But perhaps Ismael, who has l
succeeded to the throne on the death of h
ther, and has begun his reign with the m
of his brothers, may restore the lost discipli
the troops. They write word from Constanti
that he has taken the army with which he
powered his brothers, and is marching to
Babylon, which the Sultan Soliman took fro
father Tahmasp, and which he will endea
to recover, as most people think. I send als
other paper on Spanish affairs, which I hope
be neither uninteresting nor unprofitable to
Farewell.

Ratisbon, August 13, 1576.

XLVI

Languet to Sidney

AFTER your departure my friends kept me some time at Cologne, and as I was on the point of leaving it, a certain person arrived, who told me that he had given you a letter from the Queen, in which you were directed to go to the Prince of Orange, which was very pleasant news to me, for I perceived that by this means, without any risk to yourself, your wish might be satisfied, and that it will be more honourable to you to go thither in the discharge of a public duty, than as a private person, as you had intended. But as I had warned you to be careful not to give anyone an occasion of speaking ill of you, seeing that you had executed all that the Queen committed to you in such a manner as to obtain commendation and honour, and as I nevertheless saw that you were burning to be presented to Orange, and form an acquaintance with him, I was afraid you would afterwards charge me with having prevented you from accomplishing your purpose. For I do not forget how often you have reproached me as the cause of your giving up the journey to Rome. Since you left us, nothing has happened in Germany that is particularly worth relating. The Elector Palatine has not yet returned home. There is no change at Heidelberg since he went away, but

Languet from other towns and villages certain min
to Sidney have been discharged, not altogether at lib
for they have been made to promise that
will appear and take their trial, if any ch
shall be made against them within a year
meeting of Protestant princes is called at
deburg for the month of October, in which
question of religion will be discussed; why sh
not your most gracious Queen send some a
agent to this meeting, to set before them
dangers which threaten all who have cas
their allegiance to Rome, if they persist in t
contentions, and also to explain to them how
Papists are encouraging these disputes amo
us? It would be well to consult the Landgr
William on this point, and the King of Denm
might be applied to, if you are on good t
with him.

You know the state of affairs in Belgium,
are doubtless aware of the disasters our fri
have lately suffered in France. Your people
sleep with one ear open, especially if the S
iards obtain their peace from the Turks, as I
from many quarters that they will. See that
do not forget what I said to you at the m
of the Main, and write about it as soon as
can, as you have more than once promised.
Give my dutiful respects to the excellent
ter Greville, your friend, and the other noble
most courteous gentlemen who were the f

ful and agreeable companions of your long journey. I wish I could serve them in any way. I felt to S
incredible satisfaction from our intercourse during so many days, but I have experienced what a man does who drinks largely and eagerly of cold water when he is hot, and by this means brings on a fever. My pleasure, great as it was, produced a greater sorrow than I ever before felt, and it has scarcely yet subsided. Just before your departure, in jesting with Bizarro, with a view to driving away your low spirits and my own, I let fall certain words about which I intended to talk with you privately, and this made me sorry for my jest. Our friend Banosius is sent by the churches of the Belgians in exile here and in the Palatinate, to the synod which is called at Dort on the twenty-fourth of this month. From thence I hope he will write to you. He is a good and learned man, and much attached to you. I pray all blessings for you.

Frankfort, June 14, 1577.

XLVII

Languet to Sidney

ON my return from Cologne, I wrote to our common friend and said that I had made the proposal to you, as we had agreed,

Languet and that you liked it well, and were grate-
to Sidney to them for having such an opinion of you; that
that you could not come to any determination
on the subject until you had consulted those who
had a control over you; but that you promised
to learn their will as soon as you returned to
your country, and to acquaint us with it. I have
now received a letter from that friend of ours
which he says, "*L'affaire que sçavez est enseve-*
Nous attendons la resolution de votre part, c'est
à dire de celuy que sçavez. Car de nostre costé
nous sommes asseurez ayans le consentement
la principale personne. Monsieur Ley en a parlé.
Tout est resolu moyennant qu'ayez respondu
ou resolution de l'autre costé." You see in what
a strait I am placed. I really have been afraid
on this account to go to them, although they
have invited me more than once, and I have con-
vised various excuses for not going, for I did not
wish to deprive them of all hopes of concluding
the business, until I should hear from you that
no hope remained. For though I think that the
thing is very difficult, I do not believe it is quite
impossible. What if your fortune, or some good
genius, should infuse into your friends, or even
your Zenobia, a spirit of liberality towards you?
I am now sent for by our friends on matters
of such importance, that I must needs obey their
call. When they ask me what news I bring
this matter of ours, I shall have nothing to say

except that I have not yet heard from you. If, as I said before, you had written anything of any kind, I might have made up some tale to satisfy them, without any loss of their regard for you. Lang to Si

With respect to the public matter about which you were consulted, I have nothing to tell you, owing to my absence from them. The miscarriage of the wife of John of Nassau has caused a delay; for their plan was to meet under his roof to arrange that affair, and to make the baptism of his infant a pretext for their meeting. But, as far as I hear, our people continue in the same mind, and that is one reason why I am not sent for.

We hear from Nuremberg that the Emperor has forbidden the citizens of Vienna to attend the Lutheran sermons, on the ground that the profession of Lutheranism was permitted by his father Maximilian only to the nobility; but the people of Vienna are so far from regarding the interdict, that they go to the sermons in much greater numbers than formerly, now that they are forbidden to do so. This spark may come to a dangerous flame, unless care is taken of it. And what care can be taken, when the minds of our princes are preoccupied by evil counsels, and, as if they were gone mad, refuse to take the advice of common sense? What wonder if the court of Rome can beguile a young prince with its sorceries, when it has so misled the Venetians, who

Languet. think themselves the wisest of men, that to Sidney have suffered the Inquisition to be established in their city, not only to have jurisdiction over their own people, but over foreigners too? They will show their wisdom in granting us peace, that we may work more freely and bring on us a total destruction. The King of Spain is pursuing his plan for the Swiss league, and they say he has already persuaded most of the Roman cantons; but I have no doubt that Berne and the other rich and the other more powerful cantons will resist it. They have met at Baden to consider the question. The Genevese are now relieved of their fear of the Spaniards, who held ground for some time not far from their city, but have now passed the Alps. If M. du Plessis is with you, as he says here, and if the similarity of your character has made you friends, I beg you to greet him respectfully in my name. Farewell, and adieu in my letter.

Frankfort, July 15, 1577.

XLVIII

Languet to Sidney

I HAD begun to-day to write to you, and had so filled my letter with complaints and expostulations, that if it had reached you, you would have thought me abusive. But as your good luck would have it, Master Daniel Rogers, who arrived here in the evening, told me that he had a letter from you for me, and thus put an end to the vehement excitement of my feelings, so that I restrained the wrath which I had begun to pour forth on you; he has not, however, yet given me your letter. While we were at supper the lad whom you left with his Excellency the Count of Hannau came in, and said that he was going straight to you, and asked if I had a letter. I am loth to send him without one; but as, in the disturbed state of Lower Germany, a letter is not unlikely to be intercepted, I do not choose to entrust any serious matter to it. I have procured another description of the fortifications and garrisons of Hungary, about which you wrote to me from Bruges, not, indeed, by the aid of Count Ortemberg, but through our common friend Dr. Andreas Paulus, who greets you kindly, and is sorry he had not an opportunity of paying his respects to you at Prague. I will send it to you as soon as I meet with a messenger to whom I can trust it safely.

Languet After your return from the Emperor's court
to Sidney asked you if you had released the Baron Slavata
from payment of the money which you lent him
a year ago; you said no. I concluded, therefore,
that payment ought to be demanded of him as
you had written to me before, and I wrote to him
and said that I was surprised he should so soon
lose all recollection of the kindness which I
showed him in London. I wrote also to our friend
Jordan, and begged him to remind him of his
duty. When I wrote thus I thought that his money
was still in the hands of the bookseller at Prague
with whom I had left it when I came away from
there; but he has since written me word that he
gave it back to you. I should be glad, therefore,
to know what you wish to have done in the matter,
and whether you think I ought to receive the
money of Slavata if he offers it, which, however,
I scarcely expect he will do, especially if he
covers that the bond is not in our possession.
Therefore that we cannot compel him to pay.
I am writing at eleven o'clock at night, and
than half asleep, that I may not delay the
departure to-morrow. Farewell.

Frankfort, August 12, 1577.

XLIX

Languet to Sidney

THE poor Belgians seem to have a terrible war-storm hanging over them. I fear it may overwhelm them. Vast numbers of men of all nations are flocking to the standard of Don John; Italians and Spaniards are marching in companies to him out of Italy. Some have been refused by the Bernois a passage through their territory, but they will always find a way open from Savoy into Burgundy, and thence into Lorraine, which borders on the Luxembourg country, where the troops are assembling and will be reviewed, it is said. It is rumoured that the Prince of Parma has already arrived there with a large body of horse. Guise is fortifying the citadel of Bischoff Homberg in that neighbourhood; it is six miles on this side the town of Metz, and is only one day's march from Lauterbourg, where Duke Casimir's quarters are. Guise has troops in those Bishoprics which the French King wrested from the German Empire, and it is supposed that he will take them to join Don John. The French, however, have diligently spread the report that these troops are held in readiness against Duke Casimir. But I do not think it is their interest to challenge Germany to a quarrel at present. I am greatly surprised that the Spaniards are making such efforts to carry on the war, now that win-

Languet ter is so near; but I suppose they are afraid
to Sidney Orange may strengthen his party during
winter if they give him no employment, or
haps (as the proceedings of the Spaniards are
always very expeditious) the enterprise was
was to have been undertaken in autumn
been put off until later on account of embar-
ments in the treasury.

We hear from Vienna that Mathias, the
peror's brother, attended by a few horse-
left that place on the night of the fourth of
month. They suppose he is gone into Belg-
because a Belgian who was on a mission from
States to the Emperor has gone away with
The Emperor does not approve of this pro-
ing of his brother, or at least will not ap-
approve of it, for he has written to the pri-
to say that he has sent couriers to various p-
in his dominions to recall him, and begs them
to let him proceed if he comes into their coun-

I fear all this is false dealing, and done
the intention that he should go into Belgium,
dissolve by his intrigues the union of the S-
against Spain, and break down the authorit-
Orange. None of the Emperor Maximilian's
has evinced a more amiable character; de-
less he will anticipate John of Austria, and se-
the favour of the Queen of Scots. She will
fer a man honourably born, and in the vigou-
youth, to the illegitimate libertine. Mathias

born in 1557, on the twenty-fourth of February, Sidney, from which day he receives his name. Farewell. Lang

Frankfort, October 22, 1577.

L

Sidney to Languet

MY very dear Languet: Of your three letters which, in that written on the twenty-fourth of August, you affirm that you have sent me, I have received only two. Those, indeed, were full of all kindness and real friendship; but this is nothing new. Do you fancy that you can by this means perform the promise that you so solemnly made about your paying me a visit? That, Master Hubert, would be, indeed, a downright imposition. I am very glad that you are so near Spire, where you may be properly dealt with.

There was a nobleman here a short time since, of the name of de Tamars, with whom I formed an acquaintance, and this the more readily, because he very frequently in my presence made honourable mention of you. So likewise Aldegonde and the Prince himself, when I was staying with his Highness, often said a great deal by which I perceived that you were very dear to him. But why do I tell you these things? Plainly,

Sidney to to persuade you to visit him, if you can
Languet with safety, and to come from thence to us
will there have a most excellent field for
ting into practice, in the formation of this
commonwealth, those principles which you
so diligently studied during the whole course
your life. And I hope, indeed, that I shall
over thither, before many weeks have elapsed
for I have a great regard for that Prince
have perhaps in some way been of more service
to him than he is aware of. The leaning of
minds is such at this present time, that (should
wars be continued in Flanders) I am in some
that the prediction which you formerly uttered
respecting me at Vienna, will have a happy
fillment. The Marquis d'Havre demands a
ance, and I think, if occasion so require, he
obtain it. The peace with France in some
sure disturbs our Queen; for she thinks she
not been properly treated. You know the reason.
For my own part, I consider these things of
little importance; for they will always have
a reason and a disposition to make a rupture
provided only they see any certain ground on which
to rest.

I wrote to you a year ago about a certain
bisher who, in rivalry of Magellan, has explored
that sea which he supposes to wash the
part of America. It is a marvellous history,
having made slow progress in the past year.

as only to pass in the autumn the Feroe isles Sidn
and an island which he supposes to be Friesland, Lang
discovered by the Venetian Zeni, he touched
at a certain island for the purpose of recruiting
both himself and his crew. And there by chance
a young man, one of the ship's company, picked
up a piece of earth which he saw glittering on
the ground, and showed it to Frobisher; who, be-
ing engaged in other matters, and not believ-
ing that the precious metals were produced in
a region so far to the north, considered it of no
value. But he returned home at the beginning of
the winter. The young man kept the earth by
him, as a memorial of his labour (for he had no
thought of anything else), till his return to Lon-
don. And there, when one of the friends of the
young man perceived it shining in an extraordi-
nary manner, he made an assay, and found that
it was the purest gold, without any intermixture
of other metal. Wherefore Frobisher went back
to the place this last spring, under orders to ex-
plore that island, and, should it answer his expecta-
tion, to proceed no farther. This he has done,
and has now returned, bringing his ships, of which
he had only three, and those of small size, full
laden; and he is said (for they have not yet un-
loaded) to have brought two hundred tons of
ore. He has given it as his decided opinion, that
the island is so productive in metals, as to seem
very far to surpass the country of Peru, at least

Sidney to as it now is. There are also six other islands
Languet to this, which seem very little inferior. It is th
fore at this time under debate, by what m
these our hitherto successful labours can be
carried on in safety against the attacks of c
nations, among whom the Spaniards and D
seem especially to be considered; the forme
claiming all the western parts by right from
Pope; the latter, as being more northerly
therefore nearer; and relying on their pos
sion of Iceland, they are better provided with
means of undertaking this voyage. They are
said to be sufficiently skilled in the art of m
gation. I wish, therefore, for the sake of our
tual friendship, that you would send me y
opinion on this subject, and at the same time
scribe the most convenient method of wor
those ores. You promised that you would s
me the laws of Gottenberg. I pray you to do
as soon as possible. Some light may possibly
obtained from them; for we understand this
little better than we do the cultivation of v
Remember, therefore, so to write, as that
may answer to the great reputation you en
among us; for, unless you forbid it, I will s
your letter to the Queen. The thing is truly
great importance, and one which may proba
some time or other, be of use to the profes
of the true religion. I have written to you th

times on that important affair of mine; so that I think you are satisfied on that score.

I pray you to write to me with all diligence, and I shall perhaps shake off my slothfulness. Send your letter to my friend Freming. For de Taxis has too much worked his swift horses. I am truly sorry for that man's misfortune. My friend Beale is now, I believe, sweetly renewing in your society the advantages of ancient friendship. I love him, and yet I envy him. Our friend Lobetius has been conferring with me about the money which the King of France owes to the free cities of Germany. Here, truly, I perceive the Council are much inclined to oblige the German cities. But, as you know, vous autres François nous devés il y a long temp toute l'Aquitaine et la Normandie, mais vous feres plus tost banquerouttes que les payer, et pourtant nous estimons peu tels debiteurs et moins si mauvais fermiers. I beg you will write me word as to what is the state of your affairs. You very much wrong me if you are not fully persuaded of my entire readiness to serve you by every means in my power. And you must not charge upon me the saying, "Out of sight, out of mind;" for I have never felt any diminution of that ardent affection with which I have always regarded you; it has rather increased from day to day, and it is when absent that I have most of all felt the sweetness

Sidney to
Languet of your society. But observe what Aristotle
of old men in his Rhetoric; namely, that
are cold in love, and that we are deceiving
own spirits in cultivating friendship, as if
were nothing else but the smoke of your
ardour. But who, I pray, will now dare to ac-
me of laziness, seeing that I have written so
a letter? See that you write me one yet lo-
in return; for you will have a month at least
which to do it. Farewell, and commend me
the worthy Bain, our friend Lobetius, Clusius
excellent Jordan, and my Andrew. And so
my services to Butrech, the best doctor and
reisters, and the best reister among doctors (a
mistake not, Cicero says of Scævola and Cras-
as the services of one who loves them all, and
sires to gratify and be of use to every one of them.
Again, my Hubert, farewell. From the Queen's
palace, October 1, 1577. Your most loving
Philip Sidney

I wonder that I have not for a long time heard
anything of Wacker. Henry, Baron of Lich-
stein, was here shortly after my return from
many, to whom I did not show so much courtesy
as I ought to have done, having been at that
time so much involved in business; and by reason
of the absence of my father and uncles, who
were then at Bath, I was not prepared to receive
him as I could have wished. I pray you, the

fore, when an opportunity occurs, to make my excuse. He is certainly an excellent young man, and one whom I love from my heart; and whenever any of his friends shall come hither, I will endeavour to atone for my fault. My cousin Greville dutifully salutes you,

LI

Languet to Sidney

SOME one being asked which one of Cicero's orations pleased him most, answered, the longest. By the same law I judge your letters, and therefore I derived the greatest pleasure from that which the Count of Hannau's boy brought to me, although I was very sick when he came. I should run out into commendations of your great diligence had you not anticipated me there, for which I do not blame you, for fear you should arraign me in the court of the Rhetoricians who have ruled that men may relate and extol their own noble deeds, if they have achieved any. But, my good friend, were you not driven to be diligent by mere necessity, to atone for all those Laconisms which you have dealt in these two years? Besides, with what face could you have sent off the boy without a more careful letter than usual, when he was not to come away without your permission? For generally you at-

Languet to Sidney tribute the brevity of your letters to the urgency of the messengers. See the return I make for your delightful letter, than which none could have pleased me more. But I am not so to jest with you, to let you see that I am in a certain degree recovered from a severe sickness which has so troubled me for a whole month. I was not permitted either to read or write that was more distressing to me even than pain, acute as it was sometimes. Six years I suffered for seven months from the very same complaint, and I carry the marks of it still in my face; but then it was the multitude of doctors that ruined me. This time I have escaped more easily, because my danger had made me cautious, and I did not permit them to trifle with my health at their pleasure. I have not yet, however, sufficiently recovered to be able to leave my warm chamber without injury to my health.

If that which you say of your Frobisher is true, he will doubtless eclipse the reputation not only of Magellan, but even of Christopher Columbus himself. Who could have expected that the extreme north would at last supply us with so great an incitement to evil? You may now well despise the voyage to the Indies, since you have stumbled on that gift of nature, of all others the most fatal and hurtful to mankind, which, nevertheless, none of all men desire with so insane a longing, that it is the most powerful of all motives to them to undertake it.

risk. You have lately turned your lands into pastures, and in so doing have not consulted the interests of your country, for you have thinned its population. Your rulers were unwise to permit it, since the surest strength of a country is an abundant population. And now I fear England will be tempted by the thirst for gold, and rush forth in a body to the islands which Frobisher has lately discovered; and how much English blood do you suppose must be spilt in order to keep possession of them? There is not one of all our maritime nations which will not enter the lists against you for them. In old times, when a party of Carthaginians on a voyage in the Atlantic had been carried by a storm to some land or other, and on their return home told marvellous tales of its fruitfulness and its climate, the Senate, fearing the people would be tempted by the description to leave their country and migrate thither, put out of the way the men who brought the report, so that if any of their people should desire to go, they should have no one to guide them.

Do I therefore think that you should reject these good things which God in his mercy offers you, and punish their discoverer? By no means; on the contrary, I very greatly admire the high spirit, the perseverance, and even the good fortune of Frobisher, and consider he deserves great rewards. I have no doubt the first movers of the long and dangerous voyage which he undertook

Languet (whether himself or others) had an eye to Sidney riches which the Spaniards and Portuguese have procured by their great expeditions. Since, therefore, he has hit the mark at which he aimed, can he be so unfair in judging the case as not to think him worthy of the highest credit? But I am trusting in you, for you seem to rejoice in the circumstance, as if it were the best possible thing for your country, especially since last spring I noticed in you a certain wish to undertake an enterprise of this kind. And if the vain hope of finding a passage, which Frobisher entertained, had power then to tempt your mind so greatly, what can not these golden mountains effect, or rather the islands all of gold, which I dare to say stand before your mind's eye day and night? Beware, I treat you, and do not let the cursed hunger after gold which the poet speaks of, creep over the spirit of yours, into which nothing has hitherto been admitted but the love of goodness and desire of earning the good-will of all men. We are in error, if you suppose that men naturally grow better as they grow older: the case is very rare. They do, indeed, become more cautious, learn to conceal their moral faults and their affections; but if you know an old man in whom you think there are some remains of honesty, be sure he was a good man in his youth. Whenever, therefore, any feeling new to yourself shall tempt your mind, do not hastily indulge it, e

if the object to which it leads you seems to be a good one; but before you give it entrance, reflect carefully what it is that tempts you. For if you set out on any course hastily, you will be compelled to wheel about, when you find you are going wrong, or (which is not infrequent and is far worse) will refuse through false shame to confess you have gone wrong, and therefore go on with your purpose. Lan. to S

What is the object of all this, you will say. That if these islands have fixed themselves deeply in your thoughts, you may turn them out before they overcome you, and may keep yourself to serve your friends and your country in a better way. But if your desire of fame and glory makes your present inactivity irksome to you, place before you the example of the old Chandoses and Talbots; you will acquire greater honour and glory by following their steps, than if you could obtain all the wealth which the Spaniards have brought over from their new world, on the strength of which they have insulted all the nations of Europe, and so disgusted them with their insolence that they now feel, and perhaps will soon feel still more, that they have erred in their reckoning.

I wish you had told me what is the latitude of these islands; one might from thence have conjectured whether the soil in the neighbourhood was fit for cultivation, and whether it could sup-

Languet
to Sidney

ply the necessaries of life, and materials for building. The inhabitants of the arctic circle keep deer and other cattle, and have begun to sow grain. Their cows in summer time give milk much more abundant and more rich than ours. Beyond the seventieth degree of latitude it is rare to find trees that are of use for building; they are so pinched with cold that they cannot grow to any great height. Still, some say that they do grow up in the valleys which are sheltered from the north winds. If the hope of gold of which you have this glimpse does not fail you, it will be necessary for you to fortify a harbour in which your ships may lie. If, however, the country will admit of cultivation, it will be far better to build a town than a fort; for if you had a fort you would be forced to keep a garrison, which would be a great expense and of little use. But the workmen whom you must employ on the search for veins of gold, whereas the town would supply them the necessaries of life, and these would be brought by traders in hopes of sharing in the gain. The Portuguese experienced the greatest difficulties in the Indies before they colonized Goa, but when that settlement was made, everything went on much more smoothly than before. If they could then buy things at Goa which they had been forced to send for to Spain. Even if these places should be without the other necessaries of life, they would, at any rate, supply

with great abundance of fish, and if there were any inhabitants, they might make a profit by fishing as we see the Icelanders and Norwegians do, who send a vast quantity of fish, preserved by the frost, into Germany and the neighbouring countries. Lang to Si

I do not know whether I shall be able to get the statutes of Gottenberg for which you ask. I will write about it to my friends in Bohemia, although I do not think that they can be of much use to you, since the whole system of mining there is very different from that which you will have to practise. For Gottenberg stands in a highly cultivated district, and the Crown does not work the mines there at its own risk, but they are worked by private persons who pay a tenth to the Crown. I advise you by all means to read the works of Georgius Agricola, on the origin and causes of subterraneous formations and on the working of mines. He was a most eminent philosopher, and far surpassed all who had written on these subjects before him. If his works are not on sale in England, I will send them to you next spring, for they are not to be bought here at present. See how my thoughts are nailed to that gold of yours. I have brought together to this point all this nonsense, to show you that I have the will to write to you, even when I lack matter.

The Elector of Brandenburg was a suitor for the hand of the Princess of whom we spoke as we

guet walked at the mouth of the Main. But she considered that her word was given to one whom you know of, and so as she had promised her brother, seeing that no answer had arrived from him, she would not transfer her affections to another object; and therefore he has married a daughter of the Prince of Anhalt. I do not know whether you laugh at the prophecy I uttered at Vienna. But I begin to hope I shall not be a false prophet; for things seem to tend to the quarter which I pointed out. It is your business to drive them on: and if you do so, you will do well for the peace and quietness of your country. I am very sorry that you have not received the paper about the garrisons in Hungary. I was unwilling to trust it to the Count of Hannau's servants, fearing they would not take care of it. But when Master Daniel Rogers was going by water from hence to Mayence about the end of our fair, to give his letters to some persons who were going to England, I gave him the paper made up into a roll, together with a letter for you, and begged him to add it to his own parcel of letters, which he afterwards told me he had done. This took place, if I remember aright, on the twenty-third of September. What became of the treatise and my letter afterwards, you may inquire of Master Rogers when he returns to you. If you have not yet received it when you get this letter, I beg you will let me know as soon as possible, that I may apply to

Andreas Paulus to procure me a new copy of *Lang*
it, for its contents seem to me well worth your to S
knowing. I have receiyed Slavata's bond, for
which I thank you. I will send it to him with
such an eulogy as his folly deserves. Wacker,
about whom you appear to be anxious, is at
Spires. Dr. Purkircher of Posen died a few days
since with almost all his family, of the plague.
Our friend Clusius has been deprived of the sal-
ary which he received from the Emperor. This
is done, no doubt, from dislike of the reformed
religion. Are you serious when you say in your
last letter that you are likely to come into Ger-
many again? I fear you wish to cajole us with
vain hopes, for I dare not expect such good for-
tune. Whatever you resolve in the matter, I hope
it will turn out well and prosperously. Farewell.

Frankfort, November 28, 1577.

LII

Languet to Sidney

TO that long and very delightful letter of
yours I replied in such a manner, that I can
scarcely doubt you have by this time had
enough of my letters; and therefore I must in
future beware lest, to satiety, I add disgust. I will
try then to be brief, and indeed why should

Languet I write at any length, when these two ex
to Sidney lent men, my dearest friends, and your great
admirers, are coming to you? I mean Marquis
Daniel Rogers, the envoy of your most gracious
Queen, and our Equestrian Doctor, to use your
expression. For whatever I should write would
be but poor matter to you, compared with the
agreeable discourse. The objects which draw
Butrech to your country, you will learn from
himself, and you will learn besides that the
lustrous Prince Casimir is full of regard for you
and most desirous to do you pleasure. As I have
at present no other subject to write upon, I am
going to trifle with you as my custom is, and
to write freely about the affairs of Germany.
Be assured that not only the Spaniards and
French desire the overthrow of the party in
Belgium, which is in arms for the maintenance
their liberty, but some too of the leading prin-
ces of Germany are of the same mind, and
ready to profit by any opportunity that may
occur. I can easily believe that you English are
attentive enough to the plans of the French and
Spaniards, and will take very good care that they
shall do you no great harm. If, besides this, you
bestowed some thought on the Germans, you
would be doing a thing not unworthy (as I be-
lieve) of your greatness as a nation, and would
obtain thereby no little addition to your influence.
You would, moreover, be disturbing the intrigues

of the Spaniards and French, whose party in Ger- Lang
many is far from weak, and you would be put- to Sic
ting a curb on those Germans who desire to see
the Belgians crushed by the Spaniards, and will
certainly lend their help for that purpose when-
ever it shall be asked.

I will go on with this babbling as I have begun
it: an excellent means of accomplishing the
object which I have pointed out, would be to
hold to your interests, by a small yearly stipend,
a few military officers. For though you could not
make use of them to raise troops, still it would
lead to a large increase of your influence, and
you would be held in higher consideration in
Germany than you have been hitherto, and be-
sides, occasions would be sure to arise in which
you might thus throw obstacles in the way of
the designs of those who seek your ill.

And that these officers might not be, like the
single twigs of a broom, unfit for working, and
therefore useless to you, I would advise that you
should make choice of some person, eminent for
character and rank, whose authority, like a band,
might tie them together, and who should have
control over them by means of a subsidy from
you. And to no man would such a command be
trusted with more advantage than to the most
noble Prince Casimir. Indeed, you well know,
without a word from me, that he is the only man
in Germany to whom it could be trusted at all;

whether you regard his devotion and respect for her gracious Majesty and your country, or the splendour of his birth, or his age, now in its prime, or his skill and practice in arms, or the favour with which military men regard him.

Frankfort, December 26, 1577.

LIII

Languet to Sidney

THE Sirens of Saxony detained the excellent Master Beale so long, that we were not a little anxious on his account; but he relieved us from our care by returning safe and sound, and made us happy for some days by his agreeable conversation; though certainly a great part of the pleasure we derived from his society, we owe to the wintry gales which delayed his departure. You were not so courteous to us last spring, for you were in such a hurry that you were more like a man running away from his friends, than one who is only hastening home. If you had been speeding to your marriage, we could better have endured to lose you so soon, and indeed some of our party suspected that this was the cause of your haste. I, indeed, did not agree with them, but yet I greatly wonder that you, whom all the world pronounces to have been reared in

the lap of the Graces, should have been able to Lang
preserve your freedom so long. Perhaps you have to Si
determined to follow the example of your Mi-
nerva. See that you do not repent of your pur-
pose when it is too late, and consider how great
is their happiness to whom, as they return home
(in the words of the poet),

Sweet children run to be the first to kiss,
And fill the breast with joy too deep for words.

Take the advice of Master Beale on the matter;
he believes that a man cannot live well and hap-
pily in celibacy.

I hope Master Rogers and our friend Butrech
have long ago reached you safe and sound. Since
they left Germany nothing has occurred worth
writing to you. Master Beale has met with no
small difficulties in going through his appointed
task, but by his prudence and dexterity he has
so surmounted them, that I hope our churches
are saved from the perils which threatened them
from the movements of Jacobus Andreas and
some other theologians.

On the subject of forming a league, you know
what were my sentiments when you mentioned
the thing to me at Nuremberg. Those who are
only moderately versed in the affairs of Germany,
know that it is not an easy task to bring about
that which Master Rogers attempted in the first
instance with a few princes, and Beale afterwards

guet with more. You will object to me the league of
dney Smalcalde, which grew together under the hands
of your King Henry, and of Francis I of France. But
the state of the times was different then. It was
easy enough to bring into a league princes who
were high-minded men, long practised in war,
and who desired it for their own sakes, being fear-
ful of the Emperor Charles, from whom they saw
they were in danger, owing to their change of re-
ligion. And yet the end of that league was a sor-
rowful one, and to many of them most disastrous.
Wherefore it ought not to astonish anyone, if our
princes shrink from proposals of this kind, since
they are not conscious of any danger impend-
ing over them, and long security has made them
fonder of ease than was either Philip the Land-
grave or John Frederic the Saxon. Still, even if on
this ground the thing has not turned out alto-
gether as you might wish, you have no reason, by
any means, to regret the trouble bestowed upon
it, since it has added not a little to the reputation
of your most gracious Queen in Germany. Is it
not deserving of great praise, and ought they not
to be thankful to her for testifying that she is so
anxious for the safety of the churches and princes
who have thrown off the yoke of Popish tyranny,
as to invite them to a union of policy and of power
for the purpose of meeting the danger, and to
offer herself as the leader of the undertaking? I
wish from my heart that things may turn out well

for them, but if it should befall them some day to be overpowered by their enemy, for whom they are far from being a match, doubtless they will cry out on their own folly in having let slip this opportunity of providing for their safety. I believe that this troublesome and toilsome journey would not have been made by Master Beale in vain, even if he had done no more than ascertain what are the feelings towards your country of the princes to whom he went: most of whom have declared that they admire and respect the virtues of your most gracious Queen, and wish you all success. You would do well, in my opinion, to send from time to time into Germany, active men, and such as are acquainted with the affairs of this country, to strengthen their good feelings toward you, and to do what they can to conciliate the good-will of others, for in this way the name of the Queen would be made more honourable in Germany, and the princes would be more and more convinced that you are really interested in their welfare, and perchance you might gradually arrive at the league which for the present is past hoping for.

If these hints of mine do not seem to you quite absurd, I advise you to confer with Master Beale about them, for he will be able to explain the subject to you better than anyone else. If I did not know that you appreciate his character, his genius, and manifold experience, I should beg

Languet of you to show him kindness for my sake. I
to Sidney I am sure such a request is unnecessary. I only
beg you to be assured that he is one who loves
you and feels towards you as he ought, and
I desire he should. You may treat him with
closest intimacy and you shall never repent of
it.
May Almighty God grant that in this year
which we have now entered upon, all things
prosperous may befall you; may you marry
a wife suited to your character, and before
year's end, may she "make you the father
of a fair offspring."

Frankfort, January 8, 1578.

LIV

Languet to Sidney

THEY write us word from Antwerp, that
the Belgians have learnt a lesson from their
misfortunes, and are placing more power
than before in the hands of Orange, referring
almost every matter to him, and leaving every
thing connected with the war to his absolute
decision, to determine as he shall judge best
for the state. If this is true, I am inclined to congratulate
them on their late reverse. I never had
any hopes that the men who hitherto had
had the management of affairs would do right.

because they appeared to me not to understand the great peril in which they were placed, and while they would not themselves seek a remedy for their present ills, seemed to hate all who tried to make them take measures for their own safety. Lang to S

The rumour is gaining ground here that your Queen has ordered troops to be sent to the help of the Belgians; it is added that the most noble Earl of Leicester will command the forces that are to go. If this report be true, you have obtained what you so greatly desired, for I doubt not you will have a share in the enterprise. I would not, even if I could, weaken or blunt the edge of your spirit, still I must advise you now and then to reflect that young men who rush into danger incautiously almost always meet an inglorious end, and deprive themselves of the power of serving their country; for a man who falls at an early age cannot have done much for his country. Let not, therefore, an excessive desire of fame hurry you out of your course; and be sure you do not give the glorious name of courage to a fault which only seems to have something in common with it. It is the misfortune, or rather the folly, of our age, that most men of high birth think it more honourable to do the work of a soldier than of a leader, and would rather earn a name for boldness than for judgement. Hence in our countries we can scarcely find a veteran commander; and this is owing sim-

ply to our rashness. The Spaniards alone are free from this species of madness, and therefore they possess generals of the utmost experience in the art of war, who effect far more by genius than by strength, as is plain enough from what they have done in Belgium during these last ten years, to mention only such things as have happened in your time and in your recollection. I have this day received a letter from the Emperor's court, from which I learn that Ismael, the King of Persia, is dead, and therefore they suppose that Amurath, the Sultan, will give up the expedition he was preparing against him. This will be no good news either for the Emperor's people, or for the Spaniards who are still treating for a peace at Constantinople. Farewell, and at least write me word that you are alive and well.

Frankfort, February 15, 1578.

LV

Languet to Sidney

YOUR last letter was written in the month of October. Our friend Butrech, in his letters to me, proclaims in the highest terms the courtesy and liberality you have shown towards him; and so do the others who write to me. This gives me the greatest pleasure, for

I desire nothing so much as to see you excelling Lan
everyone else in goodness. I set it down to my to S
ill fortune, that you write to me no more. I cannot
persuade myself that your feelings towards me
are changed.

All the world here is intently watching the
result of affairs in Belgium. The victory of the
Spaniards has not produced them so much ad-
vantage as we feared it would, for we were
afraid some of the chief towns would go over
to them. It was almost necessary that the Bel-
gians should suffer some reverse, to reprove them
for their folly. They are now more diligent than
ever before, in preparing such things as are ne-
cessary for the war, and in fortifying their cities;
and it is no small gain that they have given
up the conduct of the war to the Prince of Or-
ange. Duke Eric of Brunswick is leading to John
of Austria, three thousand horse which will be re-
viewed in a few days in the Bishopric of Münster.
Gunther, Count Schwartzburg, and Christopher,
Baron of Tautenberg, have raised for the States
four thousand horse, a part of which is said to
have just crossed the Rhine. You are aware of
the negotiation which is going on with the most
noble Prince John Casimir. If the Belgians shall
be able to protract the war through the summer,
they will reduce the Spaniards to a great strait.
The Emperor is very desirous to bring the mat-
ter to a peaceful settlement, but he will find it

guet a difficult business. With a view to gain the confidence of the Belgians, he is pretending that he greatly disapproves of the designs of the Spaniards, and now declares that it was by his advice that his brother Mathias went into Belgium. I cannot see how he can safely say this, since hitherto he has steadily persisted in denying it, and pretended to be very angry with those who had assisted him in his departure. The Pope will never suffer the religious question to be arranged on any such terms as shall at all lessen his authority: and in this he will be strongly supported by the Spanish Inquisition, and therefore it will be in vain to treat about peace. I cannot understand why the French who are serving with John of Austria, are going back into France. Perhaps my countrymen are beginning to be tired of peace, or are afraid the Belgians or Spaniards will rob them of the prize for folly, or rather madness.

The Poles have just held their Diet at Warsaw, in which they consulted about the Muscovite war, for the Muscovite last summer took possession of nearly all Livonia, and is now said to be threatening Lithuania. After long discussions, I hear they at last passed a decree to raise two millions of ducats for the war. Those who know much of the affairs of that country believe there is not so much money in all Poland. In this Diet greater liberty has been granted to those who profess the reformed religion than they ever had

before. In the mean time, however, while the Lang Poles in their Diet are wasting time with their to Si discussions, the Tartars have invaded Volhynia, Podolia, and Russia, with three armies, and ravaged them dreadfully. Each army is said to have consisted of twenty thousand horse. Their pretext for this invasion is, that the money which the Poles have always paid them annually has not been paid now for some years. The King of Poland was in error, because he thought he could keep them quiet, through the influence of the Turks. It is said the Muscovite moved them to it by giving them money, and that had greater force with these barbarians than the authority of the Porte.

Two or three months ago, a Polish nobleman, whose name does not now occur to me, attended only by three hundred men from the troops which are generally outlying on the Tartar frontier, and are called Cossacks, made himself master of Moldavia and drove out Peter, who had been established there as Waiwode by the Turks, after the death of Ivan. The Turks complained to the King of Poland of this proceeding, and he sent troops from Transylvania and Russia into Moldavia, and had the new Waiwode put in chains and brought a prisoner into Poland. Thus, by the prudent conduct of the King, this disturbance was settled without bloodshed. Peter, whose brother is Waiwode of Lesser Wallachia, has been restored to his dominions. What a change

is this! Three hundred Poles were sufficient to drive a prince out of Moldavia, and in that same country a hundred years ago, reigned Stephen, who won many great battles of Mahomet, the Sultan; Mathias, King of Hungary; John Albert, King of Poland; and the Tartars of Procopia.

Everyone praises most highly the wisdom and moderation of Bathori, the King of Poland. I am glad that we have in Christendom at least one king who possesses some goodness. The Poles are ill pleased that the Germans speak so highly of him. I heard of him from Dr. Andreas Paulus, who was present at the pacification of Dantzic to represent the Elector of Saxony, and when he came back into Germany, the Elector ordered him to return immediately into Poland with George Frederick, Marquis of Brandenburg, who has received from the King of Poland the investiture of the Duchy of Prussia.

I send to you the works on German affairs, as you requested me. I have given them, made up into three parcels, to Ascanius de Remalme, a London bookseller, whom you must pay for the carriage. Write me word what other books you wish to have. I send you also the treatise on the defence of Hungary, which I had sent to you once before. I wish you all good success.

Frankfort, the last day of March, 1578.

I commend to you particularly Master John Ra- Sidn
phael, a pious, wise, and sensible man, who will Lar
give you this letter, and to whom I beg you will
show some attention.

LVI

Sidney to Languet

MY very dear Hubert! Robert Beale and Rogers and your friend Butrech arrived here together, with your most wished-for letters; so that I seemed to myself both to hear and see you at the same time, to my exceeding delight. You sharply accuse me of slothfulness, and in the mean time fall into the same fault, nay, a far greater, inasmuch as I am always made better by your letters, while mine must of necessity grate upon your ears to no purpose. The use of the pen, as you may perceive, has plainly fallen from me; and my mind itself, if it was ever active in anything, is now beginning, by reason of my indolent ease, imperceptibly to lose its strength, and to relax without any reluctance. For to what purpose should our thoughts be directed to various kinds of knowledge, unless room be afforded for putting it into practice, so that public advantage may be the result, which in a corrupt age we cannot hope for? Who would learn music except for the sake of giving plea-

ey to sure, or architecture except with a view to building? But the mind itself, you will say, that particle of the Divine Mind, is cultivated in this manner. This indeed, if we allow it to be the case, is a very great advantage: but let us see whether we are not giving a beautiful but false appearance to our splendid errors. For while the mind is thus, as it were, drawn out of itself, it cannot turn its powers inward for thorough self-examination; to which employment no labour that men can undertake is any way to be compared. Do you not see that I am cleverly playing the stoic? Yea, and I shall be a cynic too, unless you reclaim me. Wherefore, if you please, prepare yourself to attack me. I have now pointed out the field of battle, and I openly declare war against you.

But I wonder, my very dear Hubert, what has come into your mind, that, when I have not as yet done anything worthy of me, you would have me bound in the chains of matrimony; and yet without pointing out any individual lady, but rather seeming to extol the state itself, which, however, you have not as yet sanctioned by your own example. Respecting her, of whom I readily acknowledge how unworthy I am, I have written you my reasons long since, briefly indeed, but yet as well as I was able. At this present time, indeed, I believe you have entertained some other notion; which I earnestly entreat you

to acquaint me with, whatever it may be: for everything that comes from you has great weight with me; and so speak candidly. I am in some measure doubting whether someone, more suspicious than wise, has not whispered to you something unfavourable concerning me, which, though you did not give entire credit to it, you nevertheless prudently, and as a friend, thought right to suggest for my consideration. Should this have been the case, I entreat you to state the matter to me in plain terms, that I may be able to acquit myself before you, of whose good opinion I am most desirous: and should it prove to have been only a joke, or a piece of friendly advice, I pray you nevertheless to let me know; since everything from you will always be no less acceptable to me than the things that I hold most dear.

There is no news here, except that it is a novel and almost unheard-of circumstance in government, that nothing novel has occurred. Frobisher's gold is now melted, and does not turn out so valuable as he at first boasted. However, these islands at the sixty-second degree are not to be despised but they keep this as a great secret, lest, as you know, the opportunity be forestalled. Nay more they expect to be able to cross the sea at the same latitude; so incorrect is the description of the world as given by cosmographers. But if there should be open sea at such a temperature, you perceive it will be of great importance.

Sidney to
Languet

I believe the Queen will do what you wrote to me about, for the sake of Prince Casimir; but I was loth at this present time to say much upon that subject, as I know it is our disposition not to do anything in a hurry. What else can I now write to you, when I am so very sleepy, except that I love you as my own heart, and that I desire nothing more earnestly than that I may some time be able to prove it? My friend Greville salutes you. Humbly salute in my name the Count and Countess of Hannau, and write to me how they like the dogs I sent them. I have now written to Lobetius, Banosius, Andrew, Anselm, Merell. Am I then lazy? I pray you to salute Clusius, and tell Master Salvart that I am greatly indebted to him for the book he sent me translated into French. When it was put into my hands, I was exceedingly busy; but I will some time show myself deserving of his courtesy. Salute also Master Glauenburg, whom I will willingly oblige. Farewell, my dearest Languet. March 1, 1578. Yours,

Philip Sidney

I will show Beale every friendly office in my power, both for his own deservings, and especially for your recommendation of him.

LVII

Sidney to Languet

MY very dear Hubert! I wrote you by our friend Butrech what then came into my mind. I have now written to you by Master Rogers, rather that I may not omit any opportunity of saluting you, than because anything here offers itself worthy even of a thought. We have so failed in satisfying Butrech, that I believe, unless his kindness prevent it, we shall have a bad character in Germany. And yet, to speak candidly and confidentially, they did not appear to manage your affairs with much firmness, while the Prince of Orange seemed to aim at one thing, and the illustrious Casimir at another. And from this the Queen has taken occasion to defend her tardiness in executing her designs, against Leicester, Walsingham, and others, who had persuaded her to a more active course; which I much regret. My friend Du Plessis will, I believe, shortly quit us, without being able to obtain what would have been most advantageous to a Christian government. For my own part, unless God powerfully counteract it, I seem to myself to see our cause withering away, and am now meditating with myself some Indian project. The Queen is your friend, as I hope you will learn in a short time; meanwhile I would have you love me affection-

quietly, as you are wont, and commend me to all
our common friends. From court, March 10, 1578.

Yours,

Philip Sidney.

I have received Schuendi's treatise from the
Count of Hannau; I have not yet heard from
yourself. I pray you to love my friend Rogers
more and more for my sake.

LVIII

Languet to Sidney

I DO not so much wonder that you are remiss
in writing, as that you venture to charge me
with remissness; me, who for one letter of
yours sometimes pay you five or six of my own.
Is it not an insult, or at least a mockery of me,
that while you have written to me but one let-
ter since last October, you nevertheless in that
letter complain that it is too much leisure that
makes you neglectful? Oh, happy ye, who may
complain of too much leisure! I pray you may
long be able to do so. But most men of high
birth are possessed with this madness, that they
long after a reputation founded on bloodshed,
and believe there is no glory for them except
that which is connected with the destruction of
mankind. Ought not you, adorned as you are

by Providence with all those splendid gifts of Lan the mind, to feel otherwise than men feel, who to S are buried in the most profound shades of ignorance, and think that all human excellence consists in physical strength? And yet, let them be never so strong, in this respect they are inferior to many of the brutes. Make use, then, of that particle of the Divine Mind (as you beautifully express it) which you possess, for the preservation and not the destruction of men. And do not fear that you will rust away for want of work, if only you are willing to exert your powers. For in so large a kingdom as England, there must always be opportunities for the exercise of your genius, so that many may derive advantage from your labours. And be assured that approbation and honour are the wages of goodness, and never fail to be duly paid. If you marry a wife, and if you beget children like yourself, you will be doing better service to your country than if you could cut the throats of a thousand Spaniards or Frenchmen.

When the question was raised in Cambyses' presence at a banquet, whether he or his father Cyrus was the better prince, all the company, in fear of the tyrant's cruelty, pronounced him far superior to his father. But when it came Croesus' turn to speak, he said, "Sir, I consider that your father must be held to be your better, because he was the father of an admirable prince, whereas

Languet you have as yet no son like yourself." You s
to Sidney I am not endeavouring, as you say, to cover fault
with a splendid and specious colouring, nor am I
recommending to you ease and idleness, at least
if you believe the poet who advises any man that
wishes plenty of trouble, to get him a wife.

In the letter which I sent you by Master Beale
I jested about marriage in general, and that
thought was suggested to me by the conversation
of Beale, who often used to launch out into the
praises of matrimony when he was with us. You
recollect whither you went when I last parted
from you; you then excited some suspicion in
the minds of the persons in whose name I had
made you the proposal at the mouth of the
Main; for they were convinced that you had
some object in view with reference to the indi-
vidual whose sagacity you have often heard me
commend, and that you repented of the answer
which you had given me. I had considerable
trouble before I could remove these suspicions,
especially as they said they were certainly in-
formed, and as you gave no answer for seven
months to my proposal. And indeed, if I had not
been thoroughly confident in your sincerity, the
letter you wrote me from Bruges in which you
said, that you foresaw it would not be easy to
obtain from your friends that which you said
you desired, and therefore asked me to prepa-

way for your excuses, would have roused Languet
the misgivings in me. to Sidney

While I was writing the above, I received the
letter which you gave Master Rogers for me.
If I had gotten it an hour sooner, I should not
have accused you so harshly of indolence, but
I do not choose to alter what I have written, es-
pecially as I believe it is true. But what do you
mean by this: "You do not seem to manage
your affairs with much firmness"? You are mis-
taken if you suppose that I have anything to
do with that plan. You recollect it was a very
different matter which I requested you to look
into, and that no fault could be found either
with the Prince of Orange or anyone else of our
country. I know that the Belgians had no need of
a large force, and I fear they will meet with
the fate of a man who, drinking cold water in a
summer, feels a slight refreshment for a short time,
and then his fever rages far more fiercely than
if he had not drunk at all. When foreign troops
come into Belgium in such numbers, it will be a
relief to the people to find that the ravages of the
Spaniards are stopped by them; but when they
will find their lands plundered quite as greedily
by men who are paid with their money (or yours,
in the case may be) as by the Spaniards, and that
they are exhausted by perpetual contributions
to pay the wages of such men, they will begin

to think the remedy worse than the disease. I am
persuaded that no success is to be hoped for in
that war, if any departure is made from the opin-
ions and plans of Orange. Take care that no one
besides yourself sees that I write thus. In haste,
farewell.

Frankfort, May 2, 1578.

LIX

Languet to Sidney

I WAS fearful before, that the ardour of youth
might suggest to you some rash project, and
your destiny snatch you from your country
and your friends, by an inglorious end; for I
heard something about distant voyages, and ser-
vice in Belgium, which made me anxious. But
now that you are no longer your own master,
and that your new honours have so tied you to
your country that you must henceforth consult
its advantage rather than your own inclination,
I am to a certain extent relieved of the anxiety
which troubled me. Not that I think you less
liable to danger than before, but because the
perils which you will have to undergo for your
country must bring you honour and praise. I con-
gratulate you, therefore, on the distinction which
your wise sovereign has conferred upon you.

to excite you to the farther pursuit of vir- Languet
and I pray Almighty God to be with you to Sidney
ys, and so to rule your ways that you may
eful to your country and to your friends
deserve their love; and that your gracious
en may have reason to rejoice that she has
ed so good an opinion of you. People are
ys passing between Belgium and England
can tell you the news from thence; and
fore I shall not say anything on the subject.
Excellency Prince Casimir passed through
place (on his way to Belgium) the twenty-
of last month.
ogne, where I hope to remain during the
ner, July 16, 1578.

LX

Languet to Sidney

M glad to see in Belgium that success which
have long desired and I may say hoped;
men idolatry was abolished, it was not easy
ne Spaniards to maintain the despotism they
ed. As far as England is concerned, you have,
ed, looked upon this nation, your near neigh-
and ancient ally, as deserving your sym-
y, and have offered it many friendly ser-
, yet not to such extent as to redeem it from
dreadful bondage under which it was op-

pressed. I do not say this to detract from the credit and honour of England, for your conduct in this affair will bring you everlasting glory, but to show you that all this has proceeded directly from the Providence of God, and contrary to our calculations. Germany, after her own fashion, looks on idly at the tragedies which are being acted in the neighbouring countries, and from the misfortunes of others reaps her own advantage. The Emperor has now been appointed to settle terms of peace for Belgium. I hope he may exercise his arbitration to the good of each party. I hear he has determined to decide the matter through the neighbouring bishops. I doubt whether this is wise; I fear the Spaniards are not in earnest about all this, and will want the arbiters to do everything at their bidding. It were better for them to meet in time the danger which threatens them from the Moors, than to be thus eager for the destruction of the Belgians; for the arrogance of the Moors will be greatly increased by the success which they have obtained against the Portuguese, on whom it is said they have inflicted a cruel defeat, and the Spaniards must not suppose that they can afford to despise an enemy so near them, and backed by the alliance and protection of the Turk. For my own part, I have my fears that within a few years we shall see the Turkish and Moorish pirates

cruising in the Atlantic and the Bay of Biscay, Lang ravaging the coasts of Spain and France, and to Si perhaps even of Ireland and the western part of England.

Frankfort, September 20, 1578.

LXI

Languet to Sidney

IF you had come into Belgium (and Butrech repeatedly wrote me word that you were going to do so), I should have hastened to meet you. But though it would have been most delightful to me to see you, I should not altogether have rejoiced that you should come to a set of men with whom you could not live with any satisfaction, and where nothing could have given you pleasure except the friendship of Prince Casimir, who without doubt would have paid you every attention. But it would have been poor enjoyment for you to live in a camp in which you would have seen no bright examples of virtue, no signs of military discipline; only troops disobeying their leaders, and perpetually pretending the backwardness of their paymaster as a cover for their own insolence, or it may be, cowardice.

There are other reasons too, besides those which

anguet you mention in your letter, which might well
to Sidney keep you from this expedition. Lucan makes
Cæsar say,

Brutus, there is no blacker crime than civil war,
and Cicero says, that no war is just which is not
necessary. Now although the Belgians have just
cause to defend their liberty by arms against the
tyranny of the Spaniards, this is nothing to you.
If indeed your Queen had been bound by her
treaty to send them troops, and had commanded
you to go with these troops, then the obligation
to obey her who is your ruler would have made
those your enemies who are attacking the Belgian
states. But you, out of mere love of fame and
honour, and to have an opportunity of display-
ing your courage, determined to regard as your
enemies those who appeared to be doing the
wrong in this war. It is not your business, nor any
private person's, to pass a judgement on a ques-
tion of this kind; it belongs to the magistrate. I
mean by magistrate the prince, who, whenever
a question of the sort is to be determined, calls
to his council those whom he believes to be just
men and wise. You and your fellows, I mean men
of noble birth, consider that nothing brings you
more honour than wholesale slaughter; and you
are generally guilty of the greatest injustice, for
if you kill a man against whom you have no law-
ful cause of war, you are killing an innocent per-

son. The ancients, though they knew nothing of the true God, were strictly religious in this matter. Cato the elder wrote to his son on his going to Spain, and charged him not to use his sword until he had taken the oath to the commander of the army, for that as a just man, he could not do it before. And we read of a Lacedæmonian in battle, who had actually poised his weapon to kill his enemy, when he heard the trumpet sound a retreat, and drew back his hand, considering that he had no longer a right to kill the man. But this age of ours has lost all honourable discipline, and laughs at such things. It has even suffered the law of heralds to fall into disuse, which the French and English nations in ancient days observed most strictly. . . . I am especially sorry to hear you say that you are weary of the life to which I have no doubt God has called you, and desire to fly from the light of your court and betake yourself to the privacy of secluded places to escape the tempest of affairs by which statesmen are generally harassed; so much so, indeed, that they often forget they are but mortals, and the last thing they think of is, what will befall them after this life. I confess that in the splendour of a court, there are so many temptations to vice that it is very hard for a man to hold himself unspotted by them, and keep his feet on so slippery ground. But you must stand firm on your principle and strength of mind against

Lan
to S

Languet to Sidney these difficulties, knowing that the harder conflict the greater the glory of a triumph. I hear that his Excellency Prince John Casimir is gone to Ghent. I hope he will form no separate agreement with those people; they are always actuated by blind impulse, and never show the least moderation in their proceedings. The death of John of Austria will undoubtedly be a heavy blow to the Spanish cause. The King of Spain will not find it easy to supply his place with a man who will hold the troops in hand so well as he did. The memory of his father, his own engaging manners, and the successes of his early youth, obtained him the good-will of the army and great influence over them. His men have endured great hardships all through the summer, and yet they never showed signs of insubordination. Although I should have wished that all his plans in Belgium might fail, still nature forced me to feel sorrow when I heard of his death, while I reflected that he had done me good service to Christendom, that he was not to be blamed for the misfortunes which the Belgians have to struggle with, and that if he has acted all wrongly, he did it under orders from others. There are various rumours about the manner of his death.

The person who sent you my letter and wrote you word that he was my friend, I suppose to be George Gylpin, Secretary to the English court.

pany of merchants at Antwerp; a good man, Lan
whose friendship I obtained last summer. You to S
can very well send your letters to him whenever
you are inclined to write to me. He is a friend
of Master Rogers. Farewell.

Cologne, October 22, 1578.

LXII

Languet to Sidney

I CANNOT think by what ill luck it fell out,
that I had no opportunity of taking leave
of yourself and Master Dyer, though in truth
I had nothing for you but tears and sighs. Yet
I am sorry that I could not let you see even
tears and sighs, as pledges of my great regard
for you; but it was not my fault, for our party
was hastening away, as if they were taking leave
of enemies, not of friends, and I should have
given great offence, if I alone had behaved with
common sense, instead of being mad with the
rest. As it was, I did not make such speed, but
that before I crossed the river which flows by
Sandwich, all the horses which were to have
conveyed us were gone, and had not Sir Hales
had compassion on me and lent me his servant's
horse, I must have returned to the town. When
we reached the Foreland of Kent, though the

uet wind was not quite favourable, I persisted in
lney urging my friends to embark, until they con-
sented, that we might not any longer trespass on
the politeness of your noble father. We had not
a very prosperous voyage, as good Master Gre-
ville will tell you, whom in the course of our
journey I discovered to be a great admirer of
your character, and strongly attached to you.

Your brother has continued in perfect health.
I consider his natural disposition to be excellent,
but I still think you have not taken such care as
you ought, of his education. You have now given
him so much liberty, that it is not every one who
will find it an easy task to hold him in command.
If Wacker is on the Rhine, I will try to persuade
him to take charge of your brother; but if I can-
not prevail upon him, or if he should be absent,
I will take the advice of Lobetius and Sturmius
and choose some person who shall seem fit to
superintend his education.

I beg you to commend me to your most illus-
trious father. I know not how I shall repay him
for all his kindness to me; and greet also the
excellent Master Dyer, whose friendship is like
a precious gem added to my store.

Flushing, February 27, 1579.

LXIII

Languet to Sidney

YOUR brother is very well, and shows great readiness of understanding. I have taken care that he should make the acquaintance, and prepare a way to the friendship, of such persons here as I considered eminent for their character. The Prince of Orange and La Noue especially welcomed him; and La Noue, who is full of courtesy, showed him every attention yesterday as long as we were in the citadel. Your letters gave great pleasure to La Noue and the Prince; both of them thanked me warmly for what I have done towards gaining them your good-will. I have no doubt they will show you in their letters how well pleased they are. I cannot enough admire the wisdom of the Prince and the calmness with which he supports such a mass of work and endures so many wrongs, for which he often repays kindness, as in our case. I beseech you mark well his virtues, and do not let yourself be deterred from cultivating his friendship by his fortunes, which, however, will, I trust, look brighter. We have been compelled to put off our departure till to-morrow, that we may procure a supply of money; for Henry White did not tell me till it was too late, that he could get none

cheaper with a common citizen; but neither his meals nor his rooms would be so good; and as the townspeople are wont to admit many boarders to the same table, and have no control over them, it happens sometimes that disputes arise among them; and strangers are always more liable to be insulted than natives of the place, especially in these parts. And so it is better that he should live with a man whose authority is respected by his guests, and in whose presence they do not venture to act in an indecorous or uncivil manner. About your brother's studies, and the means of diminishing the expense he puts you to, I will write more particularly at another time. His disposition pleases me more and more, and I am very glad that there are no Englishmen here except himself and his servants. There is a Scotchman who has the charge of the sons of M. Andelot by his second marriage. If he were away, I should not grieve much. I am now going to visit Schuendi, who has sent several letters to invite me.

Strasburg, May 4, 1579.

Languet to Sidney

I AM very anxious about your brother. The tutor with whom I placed him five months ago, by the advice of Sturmius and Lobetius, is now about to leave him. I think it necessary that he should have some learned man near him, to teach him and to direct him with his advice. He has with him Henry White, and is used to him, and will always prefer him to any tutor. I think highly of Henry, and consider him a steady person, modest and sensible, and one who may be useful to you in many ways; still I do not think him a fit person to manage your brother's youth; for, as he knows no language well enough to converse easily with foreigners, he avoids their company, and that is a great disadvantage to your brother, who, unless he enjoys the intimate acquaintance of Germans, will never rightly understand the language, and will return to you wholly ignorant of the affairs of Germany. He speaks English when he is at home with his own people, so Dr. Lobetius writes me word.

You have often complained to me that the time you passed at Strasburg was almost thrown away, and yet if you had set about it rightly at the first, it would have been easy for you, with your ready apprehension and good memory, to add the German language to your other accom-

Languet to Sidney plishments. You must take care your brother does not strike on the same rock, and as he is not old enough to consult his own interests, you must take the matter in hand for him.

Cologne, September 24, 1579.

LXVI

Languet to Sidney

BEFORE my departure from Cologne, I delivered a letter for you to Ascanius, a London bookseller, which I suppose you have received. On my arrival here, I found our friend Clusius prepared for a journey which I delayed for a day or two, that I might hear from him all about your affairs. From your letter as well as from his mouth, I was informed of the dispute between you and the Earl of Oxford, which gave me great pain. I am aware that by a habit inveterate in all Christendom, a nobleman is disgraced if he does not resent such an insult; still, I think you were unfortunate to be drawn into this contention, although I see that no blame is to be attached to you for it. You can derive no true honour from it, even if it gave you occasion to display to the world your constancy and courage. You want another stage for your character, and I wish you had chosen it in this part of the world.

Since your adversary has attached himself to L Anjou's party, if your wooer shall return to you with a crowd of French noblemen about him, you must be on your guard, for you know the fiery nature of my countrymen. I am glad your Henry White has returned to you, and I wish you had many more like him, for I consider him to be both a bold and a modest man. And I fear you will be forced to procure the attendance of men whose characters you will not approve. I pray Almighty God to preserve you in safety, and not to let you stray from the good path which hitherto you have trodden so steadfastly.

Antwerp, October 14, 1579.

LXVII

Languet to Sidney

FROM the letter which I gave Henry White for you, you will have learnt that I received yours, in which you mention the dispute between yourself and the Earl of Oxford. Someone has written on the same subject to his Excellency Prince John Casimir, for he wrote to me the other day that it had given him great pain. He begs you to consider whether he can do anything to assist you, for he assures you that you shall not want his good offices. . . . In the matter on which

guet you ask my opinion I reply thus: I do not believe
dneý there is among the great men in Christendom
a wiser man than the Prince of Orange. In La
Noue many excellencies contend for preëmi-
nence, besides which he possesses such skill in the
art of war, that the Prince himself and all the
men of understanding here consider him the pil-
lar of their party. The other day when he wished
to go into France, promising nevertheless to re-
turn in a few months, they besought him ear-
nestly not to go, saying that his presence was
absolutely necessary; and though, as he assured
me, he could not give up the journey without
great inconvenience to his private affairs, he pre-
ferred the public advantage to his own, and was
persuaded to remain. He is now sent with a com-
mand into Flanders. There are many captains
and colonels here, English, Scots, French, and Bel-
gians, who are accounted brave men and good
soldiers, but they cannot be associated in La
Noue's absence, for there is not a man among
them who will serve under any of the rest; all of
them obey La Noue gladly. The friendship and
intimacy of these two men, of whom I speak thus
highly, will be already prepared for you if you
come hither. They both love you and esteem
you greatly.

Now I will treat you frankly, as I am accus-
tomed to do, for I am sure our friendship has
reached a mark at which neither of us can be

offended at any freedom of the other. It was a Lan
delight to me last winter to see you high in favour to S
and enjoying the esteem of all your countrymen;
but to speak plainly, the habits of your court
seemed to me somewhat less manly than I could
have wished, and most of your noblemen ap-
peared to me to seek for a reputation more by
a kind of affected courtesy than by those virtues
which are wholesome to the state, and which are
most becoming to generous spirits and to men
of high birth. I was sorry, therefore, and so were
other friends of yours, to see you wasting the
flower of your life on such things, and I feared
lest that noble nature of yours should be dulled,
and lest from habit you should be brought to
take pleasure in pursuits which only enervate the
mind.

If the arrogance and insolence of Oxford have
roused you from your trance, he has done you
less wrong than they who have hitherto been
more indulgent to you. But I return to my sub-
ject. Before you decide on anything, consider
carefully what is best for your interest; for when
you have decided, you must carry it out steadily.
You know that last year you gave some persons
a hope that you were coming into this country;
and though it was no fault of yours that you did
not come, still if the same thing should happen
again, many persons will feel that there is a want
of constancy in you, and it would avail you little

that you should not be in fault; therefore you must be careful in this matter. If your absence from home is not inconvenient to your noble father and your other friends, you will do well, as far as I can judge, to come. I do not reckon as an inconvenience the pain they will feel at your absence by reason of the great love they bear you. For I hope that you will gain experience and information, and return to them so high in reputation, that they will then rejoice at your having left them, and altogether approve your present plan. . . . As soon as you have determined on your proceedings, if you will let me know, I will do my best that you may not be here as a volunteer, but may hold some station worthy of you; and I suspect I am far from being an object of dislike to some who have influence here. I should think the command of a wing or squadron of horse would suit you at first, that so you might be able to repay in some sort the attendance of the poorer friends who shall accompany you, and your other dependents. You would have to make choice of a skilful lieutenant or deputy commander; but you would soon be able to learn the duties of your position from La Noue. Your countryman, Norris, cultivates him greatly, and is nearly always at his side, which adds much to his authority.

Antwerp, November 14, 1579.

LXVIII

Languet to Sidney

VILLERS gave your letter to the Prince as he was going to bed; he read it, and said there was nothing he would not do for you. He is now gone into Holland, so that we can do no more with him at present. In the mean time reflect about your own affairs, and be sure to write what you wish us to do for you. You need not fear the coming of Alençon into this country: if he comes at all, it will hardly be before autumn; and if you should follow the camp only for a few months, you would derive great advantage from it, especially if you should improve your acquaintance with La Noue. For as you are thoroughly well read in history, you will learn the military system of our day far more quickly than those who are ill acquainted with it.

I admire your courage in freely admonishing the Queen and your countrymen of that which is to the state's advantage. But you must take care not to go so far that the unpopularity of your conduct be more than you can bear. Old men generally make an unfair estimate of the character of the young, because they think it a disgrace to be outdone by them in counsel. Reflect that you may possibly be deserted by most of those who now think with you. For I do not doubt there will be many who will run to the safe side

anguet of the vessel, when they find you are unsuccessful in resisting the Queen's will, or that she is seriously offended at your opposition. . . . I advise you to persevere as long as you can do anything that may benefit your country; but when you find that your opposition only draws on you dislike and aversion, and that neither your country, your friends, nor yourself, derive any advantage from it, I advise you to give way to necessity, and reserve yourself for better times; for time itself will bring you occasions and means of serving your country. Remember what Queen Mary, after King Edward's death, was enabled to effect, though at the first she had very few adherents, and your countrymen were then much more practised in war than they are now. The party and influence of Anjou is on the increase here, and if you should annoy him by your opposition in England, you will scarcely find a reception here, much less in France. Your religion shuts you out of Spain and Italy, and so Germany would be your only refuge if you were compelled to leave your country. I have written to you what I think of this marriage. I am still of the same mind.

Antwerp, January 30, 1580.

LXIX

Languet to Sidney

DR. LOBETIUS, before he left Strasburg, wrote me word, that he feared if Duke Casimir made his expedition into France, your brother would join him. This suspicion was suggested to him, from seeing that he made very anxious enquiries of everyone he met, if they had any news on that head. This must be prevented without delay, if he really has the intention, for it would be certain destruction to him. . . . I will write on the subject to Butrech, and also to his Excellency Prince Casimir himself, if I shall find that our young friend is meditating anything of the kind. It would seem to me a good plan that you should send him at once to Leipsic, for he will learn German more easily there than at Strasburg; he will be separated from Englishmen, and will live at less expense. The departure of Lobetius makes me less desirous that he should stay at Strasburg. You should make these arrangements at the time of the Frankfort fair, which is just coming on. At any rate, you must soon come to some determination about sending him a supply of money.

Nothing of any importance is going on here at present, owing to the absence of the Prince of Orange. The Archduke Mathias has returned hither from Dort. The malcontents are not alto-

Languet together of one mind. Some advise that the aid of
to Sidney the Spaniards should be requested; but the nobles who have before their eyes the execution of Egmont, are altogether averse to the Spaniards. The Swedes have broken up from the siege of Narva, and two thousand of them have been slain by the Muscovites. The Muscovite prince is said to beat Pleskow with a large force, with which it is expected he will invade Livonia. Farewell, and write me an answer.

Antwerp, February 6, 1580.

LXX

Languet to Sidney

OUR merchants who are going to the Frankfurt fair will leave this place in a day or two. I will write by them to Wechel, to send your brother some money, for I feel sure he has nothing remaining of that which he received from you a year ago; and now that Dr. Lobetius has left Strasburg, I fear there is no one there who will take very great care of him. I know that his host is a very poor man and cannot give him credit.

The Prince of Orange has not yet returned, and therefore nothing is going on here. He has gone into Gueldres, which is in some confusion; for

they say that the monks and priests have lately Lang
been driven out of Nimeguen, which is the prin- to Si
cipal city of that country, and in which a year
ago there were very few who professed the re-
formed religion: but John, Count of Nassau, the
Prince's brother, who is the governor of that pro-
vince, has very much advanced the cause by his
wisdom and moderation. The nobility seemed in-
clined to fall off to the Spaniards, but the cities,
persuaded by Count John, resisted their attempts,
and threatened the last degree of severity to any
who should leave the confederacy. There is a
report here that the Gueldrians have given their
vote to approve the terms which were drawn
up in the assembly of the States to be proposed
to the Duke of Anjou. I scarcely believe it is true,
for when I was travelling through those parts two
months ago, almost all with whom I then con-
versed seemed utterly opposed to the project. If
the Prince has obtained their consent, he will eas-
ily, I think, procure that of the other provinces.

A meeting of the States of Holland and Zealand
is called at the Hague, at which the Prince of Or-
ange will be present. Before, however, he comes
thither, he is to go from Gueldres to Utrecht, and
from thence to Amsterdam, and from Amster-
dam to Haarlem. I believe he is going to those
cities for the purpose of proposing to them the
measures which are to be passed in the meeting,
and to persuade them to support him, before

guet they send their deputies with their instructions to
idney the meeting. Although his authority is nowhere
so great as with the Hollanders and Zealanders,
yet many persons think that he will have greater
difficulty in persuading them to submit to Anjou's
rule, than the rest. The people of Flanders have
been very forward in approving the terms to be
proposed to Anjou, and passed a decree on the
subject; and that the people may never, in time
to come, say that all this was done without their
knowledge, they have translated the terms into
the dialect of Flanders, and had it printed and
published.

What inconsistency is this of the men of Ghent! A year ago they were cutting in pieces the name and character of Anjou with the bitterest abuse and most slanderous lampoons: and his envoys were driven from the city at night with ignominy. They even formed designs upon his life; and yet now they are the first with their votes to give over the sovereignty of the country to him. I think Brabant will follow the example of Flanders, for the magistrates and chief men of this city seem to incline that way. And how great influence the authority of this city, on which the eyes of all men are turned, will have on the business, you may yourself conjecture. When Orange has come back from Holland, there will be a convention here of all the confederate provinces, and then this whole ques-

tion will be decided. The malcontents, who style Lang themselves the defenders of the Catholic reli- to Si gion, and have promised that they will not lay down their arms until they have brought back these countries under the dominion of the Pope and the King of Spain, are not prospering altogether as they might wish. A short time since, when they had invaded Flanders, the priests and monks at Bruges began to raise their crests higher than usual, on the strength of their approach: the people were indignant at this, and turned them all out of the city. They have also lately been expelled from West Friesland, where not only the forts which have been built in the towns, to keep the people to their obedience, are said to have been destroyed, but all those also which stand without the cities and belong to the nobles, who have lately made a conspiracy with the Count Renneberg, the governor of the country, and endeavoured to draw the province from the confederacy of the States. They say that Count Renneberg himself has fled to Groningen, where I doubt if he is his own master.

I had written to Master Dyer, before I received your letter. I have heard from the Emperor's court, that the Queen Elizabeth, the widow of Charles, the King of France, has resolved to retire with certain noble maidens to Vienna, into the monastery of St. Anne, and there pass the rest of her life, and not admit proposals of mar-

Languet riage from anyone: and so the Duke of Sa
to Sidney will be disappointed. Farewell.

Antwerp, February 27, 1580.

LXXI

Languet to Sidney

OF your coming into this country, I
now write more freely, since I
found a person to whom I can trust
letters. Your countrymen here, by quarrelling
gether and by mutually disparaging each other,
have procured only contempt for themselves,
and have greatly alienated the minds of the
people of this country. They are impatient
control, and insolent to their officers, which
creates the dislike of the inhabitants. The
ers also have lost much of their reputation,
that if you should come hither, they would
flock to your standard. But I would rather
you should have raw recruits, than veteran
diers, corrupted by a long course of license, who
moreover, you could not entertain without cr
ing unpopularity, or without injustice to t
under whom they have hitherto served. I t
you will have to be careful not to appear to
to gain influence for yourself, or impair th
others by intrigue; that would be an invic

procedure, and besides, you have no need of such appliances, since by the force of your character and abilities you may easily come to be thought more of than the rest of your countrymen. I would not have you bring recommendations from any quarter, except from your own goodness, lest the tribute that shall be paid to your character may appear to be given to such introductions. If you have a few followers with you, you will be able to keep order among them more easily, but you will do well, if you warn them before you leave your country, that you will not incur discredit and disgrace on their account, and that they must not be discontented if you discharge those who are disorderly.

To speak plainly, I fear that, of the qualifications of a commander, severity will be the one in which you will be deficient. For by nature and inclination you are formed for gentleness, and soldiers cannot be kept to their duty without severity; and because it has gone out of fashion, our wars deserve the name of plundering expeditions rather than wars. For our men do more harm to those who pay them than to their enemies. I wonder why the Duke of Anjou has conceived this dislike of you. If he hates you only because you opposed him in England, he will soon be reconciled to you, and it will be unnecessary for you to say more than that you acted, not from ill-will towards him, but for the

Languet good of your country. You gain neither advantage
to Sidney tage nor honour by quarrelling with men
rank.

Antwerp, March 12, 1580.

LXXII

Languet to Sidney

A FEW days since, Count Egmont came to Ninove, which belongs to him, and is about seven or eight miles from Ghent, and five from Brussels. He had come thither in hopes of getting possession of Brussels, with the help of some of his partisans in the city. La Noue was at Courtray at the time; and having learnt that Egmont was to come to Ninove, he marched out from Ghent in the evening of the twenty-ninth of last month, with such troops as he had at hand, and gathering up a few more on the road, pushed forward to Ninove with all speed, hoping to arrive there before daybreak, which, however, he did not accomplish. But although the sun was already risen when he reached the place, he thought it would be little to his credit to come away without striking a blow, and so he resolved to attempt an assault, what he had before designed to do by surprise. He had heard that the town was defended on one side by a low rampart.

ditch full of water, and that between the rampart and the ditch, a fence was set up of oaken palisades. The townspeople considered that side the strongest, and felt more secure in that quarter than elsewhere. La Noue had been informed that the water in the ditch was only three feet deep, and therefore he judged that the assault should be attempted on that side. But in order to draw away the garrison from that point, he ordered a party of his people to attack the town on the opposite side with as much noise as possible. As soon as they had done this, and the soldiers of the garrison, as La Noue had calculated, began to hasten to this point, he gave orders to the men whom he had kept with himself, to step into the ditch, and with poles armed with iron hooks, provided for the purpose, to pull down the palisade of oak, and when this was destroyed, to dash into the town. This they did promptly, and so the place was won. Count Egmont was taken there, with some of the nobility of Artois, who had accompanied him, all of whom, I hear, have been carried to Ghent. I believe Egmont had with him his wife, whom he married last winter. I have not yet heard whether many of La Noue's men fell in the assault. Some of Egmont's accomplices have been taken at Brussels, and they are treating with them to give up the other conspirators. A plan was also on foot for betraying Vilvorde, and some of the traitors were put in

guet
dney irons a few days ago. La Noue has been ordered by the States of these provinces to raise a body of cuirassiers, of which he is to have the command. Although the States have promised that they will faithfully pay the soldiers whom he shall enlist, he places so little reliance on a promise of this sort, that he would not send for men out of France, fearing lest they should complain that he had deceived them, if their pay was not punctually given to them; but he is raising them here, and before he takes a man, he tells him plainly how hard it is to procure the payment of the men's wages.

The King of Spain is not prospering as he hoped in Portugal. The nobility of the country is rather inclined to him, but the people have the strongest aversion to him. He has resolved, however, to vindicate by arms the claim which he says he has on the kingdom, and has appointed Alva to command the forces which he has already prepared. He is detaining the ships and crews of foreign traders, to use them in the war, and they say the Portuguese are doing the same thing. Large supplies of arms are being carried by traders from these parts into Portugal. But I suppose you have better information on these subjects where you are, than we have here, and therefore it is superfluous to write about them. They say the King of Spain has lately had a daughter born to him. Some persons write word

from France that the Rochelois have taken a Lang
Spanish ship, laden with a large cargo of money, to Si
and profess openly that they had their orders
from the Duke of Anjou. If you wish me to serve
you in any way here, let me know in good time.
Farewell.

Antwerp, April 2, 1580.

LXXIII

Languet to Sidney

AS we have often conferred together about
your coming into these parts, I shall freely
write to you and tell you of a plan I have
formed, or rather how I am obliged to comply
with the request of others. The Prince of Orange
and his illustrious consort have begged of me to
take the management of some private affairs for
them in France, and to proceed thither with the
envoys who are just now sent from Flanders to
Anjou, in order that I may be secure from the
perils which attend those who travel in France
nowadays, for there is no doubt the civil war is
breaking out afresh. I came hither to enjoy rest
and the society of good men, and the pleasure
of your friendship at a less distance; and my age
makes me now less able to support the fatigue
of a long journey, and I know the dangers which

guet I must undergo; nevertheless, I would not refuse
dney my assistance to a man who excels all whom I
know, in wisdom, and from whom I am continually receiving the greatest kindness.

Nothing troubles me more, than that I must depart from hence just at the time when I hoped you would come hither; for I hear that your noble sister has been safely delivered of a beautiful boy, and so has made her husband and all of you her near relations happy. I rejoice that she is relieved of her danger, and you all from your anxiety, and I congratulate you on the happiness which I am sure possesses you. In truth, some share of the happiness reaches even me; for her singular excellence and her generosity to me, though she never knew me, made me not a little anxious on her account, until the news was brought me of her safe delivery.

Antwerp, May 6, 1580.

LXXIV

Languet to Sidney

ONE great advantage of your regard for me I find in this, that there is hardly one of those whom you have made your friends who does not desire to obtain my friendship, because he knows that you love me. Such of

them, however, as are here, are astonished that you find pleasure in your long retirement; and though they readily believe that it is made most delightful to you by the society of your dearest friends, still they think you ought very carefully to reflect whether it is consistent with your character to remain so long concealed. They fear that those who do not so well know your constancy may suspect that you are tired of that toilsome path which leads to virtue and which you formerly pursued with so much earnestness. They are fearful, too, that the sweetness of your lengthened retirements may somewhat relax the vigorous energy with which you used to rise to noble undertakings, and a love of ease which you once despised, creep by degrees over your spirit. They have accordingly often begged me to write to you on this matter, which hitherto I always refused to do, saying that I knew well the steadiness of your mind, and that they need not fear its vigour and its edge would be dulled by idleness; and that, even if the common herd should entertain false suspicions of you, you could at any time easily wipe them away. Though I frequently answered them in such terms as these, and added that I wondered they did not write to you themselves if they thought it so necessary, they did not cease to urge me to write, and in answer to what I had to say, alleged that my letters would have more weight with you than

Languet
to Sidney theirs. At last I suffered myself, not to be
suaded, but rather forced to trifle with you
their gratification; for I am well aware that
produce nothing for your conviction which
not already occurred to yourself.

While we lived together, I so greatly admired
the acuteness of your apprehension, your
you were, the soundness of your judgement
your high and excellent spirit, that I had no doubt
if God granted you long life, your country would
find no small assistance in dangers from your
tue; especially since I observed, in addition to
those mental endowments, splendour of behaviour,
majesty of person, the expectation of great
wealth, the authority and influence of your
tions in your country, and all those other things
which are commonly called gifts of fortune.
I used sometimes to say that you were by nature
entirely averse to the excitement and the
follies of a court, and that when you returned
home, nothing would delight you more than to
pass your life with your friends in dignified
ease; if ever such a lot should be granted to
any man. I was indeed afraid you were speaking seriously
when I thought of your modesty, and how
far from all ambition you were; but I judged
that though that was then your resolution, you would
change your mind as you grew older, and
if you should persevere in it, your country would
never permit itself to be cheated of the benefit

of your character, which it had a right to claim as its own. Lang
to Si

On your return to England, adorned with those splendid endowments, and furnished with information beyond your years, you carried away the admiration of all men; and all of your nobility who had a name for generosity of sentiment began eagerly to compete for your friendship. To all this was added the good-will of her most gracious Majesty, who, in order to encourage you in your progress to distinction, admitted you to a state of intimacy with herself, and honoured you with that noble mission to the Emperor of which you acquitted yourself with the greatest credit three years ago. How highly she esteemed you, she testified by that remarkable eulogy which the illustrious prince, Duke John Casimir, whom I suppose you remember, declared he heard from her own lips. What pleasure do you think your noble father and all who love you must have felt, when they saw everything turn out so prosperously for you, in your very probation at court?

I left Germany, and came to this country, disturbed as it is, that I might be a near spectator of your successes, on which my happiness depended, and that I might enjoy the great pleasure I always feel at seeing affairs go on to your satisfaction. But contrary to what I hoped, it fell out, that when I came hither I found a sort of cloud over your fortunes, which turned the pleasure which

Languet I already enjoyed by anticipation, into son
to Sidney Consider well, I entreat you, how far it is

ourable to you to lurk where you are, whilst
country is imploring the aid and support o
sons. If the advice which you offered, belie
it to be good for England, was not received
deserved, you must not therefore be angry
your country; for good citizens ought to pa
her every wrong, and not for any such re
desist from working for her preservation. W
Themistocles was proposing measures that v
salutary to his country, Eurybiades threaten
strike him if he did not hold his peace; to w
he replied, "Strike, but hear." Imitate Them
cles, and undeceive your countrymen, who r
that the Spaniards have forgotten the wr
which they have often in the past years rece
at your hands; and even if they had rece
none at all, the hatred of the religion which
profess would be enough to whet them to
destruction. They are in error who think
you have nothing to fear from their success
Portugal and in this country; it is to these t
ascribe the fact that the Papists among you
began their intrigues again.

You know that the ambassadors who were
from hence to Anjou, sailed from Flushing a m
ago. We know that they have reached hi
safety, although we have as yet received no
ters from them. This plan of inviting Anjou

pleases the neighbouring nations to a surprising degree, and they find great fault with the Prince of Orange, and the States of these provinces, as if they were guilty of some heavy crime in the affair. Those who are idle spectators of other men's dangers, and offer them no help in their need, are unfair if they find fault with them for begging the assistance of others, with whose aid they trust they may escape from perils which they cannot surmount by their own strength. These provinces are so worn out by their long wars, that they cannot defend themselves against the power of the Spaniards by their own resources; and in truth it has been a great gain to them that the Spaniard has been hampered by the Portuguese war, and has been therefore unable to turn all his forces against them, which he will do as soon as he has subdued the Portuguese, as we learn from the letters of Cardinal Granvelle, lately intercepted. . . . The King of Spain has proscribed the Prince of Orange, and has caused the edict which contains the proscription to be printed. The King appears to me to be exposing his character disgracefully by this edict. I could not well have believed that he would have recourse to such a measure.

Lan-
to S

Antwerp, September 24, 1580.

YOUR letter was on many accounts delightful to me, but especially because I learn from it that you have come forth from that hiding-place of yours into open day. I am glad you have told me how your letter to the Duke of Anjou has come to the knowledge of so many persons; for it was supposed by you that you had made it known to show that you despised him, and cared nothing for his displeasure, which appeared to me by no means a safe proceeding, and inconsistent, besides, with your usual modesty. And therefore I suspected you had been urged to write by persons who either did not know into what peril they were thrusting you, or did not care for your danger, provided they effected their own object. I am, however, you were ordered to write as you were by those whom you were bound to obey, that no fair-judging man can blame you for putting forward freely what you thought good for your country, or even for exaggerating some circumstances in order to convince them of what you judged expedient.

About Anjou's coming to you, and his marriage, I think as I always have thought. But if he should come hither, and you wish to be reconciled to him, nothing will be easier. The Prince of Orange

doubtless he will esteem and regard as a Languet
will be able to do it better than anyone to Sidney
Aldegonde, Duplessis, and Villers are most
to you; they will surely have much in-
with him, and will do anything to serve
d if others should fail, perhaps I could
thing in the matter, for when I was with
summer, he conversed with me in as
a manner as yourself.

countryman, Drake, must indeed possess
test genius, courage, and perseverance. It
me far more astonishing that he should
en able to subsist himself and his men
surrounded as he was on all sides by
than that he should have sailed around
d. He has accomplished a deed which
an honour not to himself alone, but to
untry, unless you sully your share of the
y any ungrateful behaviour towards him.
you have any particulars regarding his
you will let me have them. In truth, I
and highly esteem the man, though I do
w him. I do not doubt his name will be
ed to all posterity, and I advise you to
e his friendship. There seems reason to
t the flame which burns in Ireland may
seize upon your own England; all men
at you carry on the war there as if you
to keep it alive rather than suppress it.
ends who write to me from Germany

YOUR letter was on many accounts delightful to me, but especially because I learn from it that you have come forth from that hiding-place of yours into open day. I am glad you have told me how your letter to the Duke of Anjou has come to the knowledge of so many persons; for it was supposed before that you had made it known to show that you despised him, and cared nothing for his displeasure, which appeared to me by no means a safe proceeding, and inconsistent, besides, with your usual modesty. And therefore I suspected you had been urged to write by persons who either did not know into what peril they were thrusting you, or did not care for your danger, provided they effected their own object. Since however, you were ordered to write as you thought fit by those whom you were bound to obey, no fair-judging man can blame you for putting forward freely what you thought good for your country, or even for exaggerating some circumstances in order to convince them of what you judged expedient.

About Anjou's coming to you, and his marriage, I think as I always have thought. But if he should come hither, and you wish to be reconciled to him, nothing will be easier. The Prince of Orange

whom doubtless he will esteem and regard as a father, will be able to do it better than anyone else. St. Aldegonde, Duplessis, and Villers are most friendly to you; they will surely have much influence with him, and will do anything to serve you. And if others should fail, perhaps I could do something in the matter, for when I was with him last summer, he conversed with me in as friendly a manner as yourself.

Your countryman, Drake, must indeed possess the greatest genius, courage, and perseverance. It seems to me far more astonishing that he should have been able to subsist himself and his men so long, surrounded as he was on all sides by enemies, than that he should have sailed around the world. He has accomplished a deed which will be an honour not to himself alone, but to your country, unless you sully your share of the glory by any ungrateful behaviour towards him. I beg if you have any particulars regarding his voyage, you will let me have them. In truth, I honour and highly esteem the man, though I do not know him. I do not doubt his name will be renowned to all posterity, and I advise you to cultivate his friendship. There seems reason to fear that the flame which burns in Ireland may one day seize upon your own England; all men agree that you carry on the war there as if you desired to keep it alive rather than suppress it.

My friends who write to me from Germany

anguet
o Sidney about your noble brother, highly commend his goodness, his talents, and his industry in study. They say he has been most successful in learning German, and I see that he has made great progress in Latin, for he writes much more elegantly than formerly. He is now going to the Imperial court. I have commended him particularly to Aurelius, the French Secretary, who knows the ways of that court thoroughly. He desires to visit Italy early in the spring, and it will be your business to let him know betimes what you think of this plan, that he may prepare for the journey.

M. de la Val, whom you saw at Basle, has come hither from Germany; I think he will winter with us. Dr. Niphus greets you; he has come hither on private business. Our common friend, Master Daniel Rogers, being on a mission from the Queen into Germany, was taken near Cleves by a party of marauders, and carried off to the fort of Blimbeck, which belongs to Martin Schenck. It will be your business to procure his release, for the Prince of Orange can do nothing in the matter; the people who have captured Rogers are his greatest enemies. I beg you will greet Master Dyer heartily from me.

Antwerp, October 22, 1580.

Languet to Sidney

THE Archduke Mathias has heard from Vienna that peace is made between the Turks and Persians, and letters from Constantinople imply the same, but do not directly affirm it. They add that the Sultan has commanded Ochiali to have a number of new galleys built, so that it is expected he will make some attempt against the Spaniards next summer. It certainly concerns him in the highest degree that the Spaniards should not conquer Portugal, lest they should deprive Egypt of their traffic with India by the Red Sea. And the Venetians, with those of Marseilles and others, who trade at Alexandria and Cairo, are equally interested. What we heard about the death of the King of Poland is not true. They say he has penetrated with his victorious army into the heart of Muscovy, and that the Muscovite is suing to him for peace.

The Prince of Orange has set out for Holland. I shall follow him to-morrow, if it please God, as he has desired me to do. I could not travel with him, because I had certain business to settle here before I could leave the place. I am glad to hear your countryman Drake is being more gently dealt with than you had expected. Farewell, and greet excellent Master Dyer respectfully from me.

Antwerp, October 28, 1580.

APPENDIX
Two Letters written by Philip Sidney
to his Brother Robert
on his Travels



TWO LETTERS

&c.

First Letter

MY Good Brother: you have thought unkindness in me that I have not written oftener unto you, and have desired I should write unto you something of my opinion touching your travel; you being persuaded my experience thereunto be something, which I must needs confess, but not as you take it; for you think my experience grows from the good things which I have learned; but I know the only experience which I have gotten, is to find how much I might have learned, and how much indeed I have missed, for want of directing my course to the right end, and by the right means. I think you have read Aristotle's Ethics; if you have, you know it is the beginning and foundation of all his works, the end, to which every man doth and ought to bend his greatest and smallest actions. I am sure you have imprinted in your mind the scope and mark you mean by your pains to shoot at; for if you should travel but to travel, or to say you have travelled, certainly you should prove a pilgrim to no purpose. But I presume so well of you, that though a great number of us never thought in ourselves why we went, but a certain tickling humour to do as other men had done, you purpose, being a gentle-

Sidney man born, to furnish yourself with a knowl
to his of such things as may be serviceable for
Brother country and calling, which certainly stand
Robert in the change of air, for the warmest sun n
not a wise man; no, nor in learning langu
although they be of serviceable use, for w
are but words in what language soever they
and much less in that all of us come home
of disguisements, not only of apparel, but o
countenances, as though the credit of a trav
stood all upon his outside; but in the right
forming your mind with those things which
most notable in those places which you c
unto.

Of which, as the one kind is so vain, as I
ere it be long, like the mountebanks in Italy
travellers shall be made sport of in come
so may I justly say, who rightly travels wit
eye of Ulysses, doth take one of the mos
cellent ways of worldly wisdom. For hard
it is to know England, without you know
comparing it with some other country, no
than a man can know the swiftnes of his l
without seeing him well matched. For you
are a logician, know, that as greatness of itse
quantity, so yet the judgement of it, as of mi
riches and all other strengths, stands in the
dicament of relation; so that you cannot tell
the Queen of England is able to do defensive
offensively, but through knowing what the

able to do with whom she is to be matched. This therefore is one notable use of travellers, which stands in the mind and correlative knowledge of things, in which kind comes in the knowledge of all leagues between prince and prince: the topographical description of each country; how the one lies by situation to hurt or help the other; how they are to the sea, well harboured or not; how stored with ships; how with revenue; how with fortification and garrisons; how the people, warlike, trained, or kept under, with many other such considerations, which as they confusedly come into my mind, so I, for want of leisure, hastily set them down; but these things, as I have said, are in the first kind which stands in the balancing one thing with the other.

The other kind of knowledge is of them which stand in the things which are in themselves either simply good, or simply bad, and so serve for a right instruction or a shunning example. These Homer meant in this verse, "*Qui multos hominum mores cognovit et urbes.*" For he doth not mean by "mores" how to look, or to put off one's cap with a new-found grace, although true behaviour is not to be despised; marry, my heresy is, that the English behaviour is best in England, and the Italian's in Italy. But "mores" he takes for that from whence moral philosophy is so called; the certainness of true discerning of men's minds, both in virtue, passion, and vices. And when he

Sidney saith "cognovit urbes," he means not, if I be
to his deceived, to have seen towns, and marked
Brother buildings; for surely houses are but houses
Robert every place; they do but differ "secundum morem
et minus;" but he attends to their religion, cu-
stoms, laws, bringing up of children, discipline
for war and peace, and such like. These I take
to be of the second kind, which are ever worthy
to be known for their own sakes. As surely is the
great Turk, though we have nothing to do with
him, yet his discipline in war matters is, "per se,"
worthy to be known and learned.

Nay, even in the kingdom of China, which is
almost as far as the Antipodes from us, their
laws and customs are to be learned: but to know
their riches and power is of little purpose for us,
since that can neither advance nor hinder us
in our neighbour countries both these things
to be marked, as well the latter, which concern
things for themselves, as the former, which concern
to know both those, and how their riches and
power may be to us available, or otherwise. These
countries fittest for both these are those you are
going into. France is above all other most worth-
ful for us to mark, especially in the former
next is Spain and the Low Countries; then
many, which in my opinion excels all other
much in the latter consideration, as the other
in the former, yet neither are void of neither
as Germany, methinks, doth excel in good

and well administering of justice, so are we likewise to consider in it the many princes with whom we may have league, the places of trade, and means to draw both soldiers and furniture thence in time of need. So on the other side, as in France and Spain, we are principally to mark how they stand towards us both in power and inclination; so are they not without good and fitting use, even in the generality of wisdom to be known. As in France, the Courts of Parliament, their subaltern jurisdiction, and their continual keeping of paid soldiers. In Spain, their good and grave proceedings; their keeping so many provinces under them; and by what manner, with the true points of honour; wherein since they have the most open conceit, if they seem over curious, it is an easy matter to cut off when a man sees the bottom. Flanders likewise, besides the neighbourhood with us, and the annexed considerations thereunto, hath divers things to be learned, especially their governing their merchants and other trades. Also for Italy, we know not what we have, or can have to do with them, but to buy their silks and wines; and as for the other point, except Venice, whose good laws and customs we can hardly proportion to ourselves, because they are quite of a contrary government; there is little there but tyrannous oppression, and servile yielding to them that have little or no right over them. And for the men you shall have there, although in-

Sidney
to his
Brother
Robert

Sidney deed some be excellently learned, yet are they
to his all given to counterfeit learning, as a man shall
Brother learn among them more false grounds of things
Robert than in any place else that I know; for from a
tapster upwards they are all discoursers. In fine,
certain matters and qualities, as horsemanship,
weapons, painting, and such, are better there
than in other countries; but for other matters, as
well, if not better, you shall have them in nearer
places.

Now resteth in my memory but this point,
which indeed is the chief to you of all others;
which is the choice of what men you are to di-
rect yourself to; for it is certain no vessel can
leave a worse taste in the liquor it contains, than
a wrong teacher infects an unskilful hearer with
that which hardly will ever out: I will not tell
you some absurdities I have heard travellers tell;
taste him well before you drink much of his doc-
trine. And when you have heard it, try well what
you have heard, before you hold it for a prin-
ciple; for one error is the mother of a thousand.
But you may say, how shall I get excellent men
to take pains to speak with me? Truly in few
words, either by much expense or much hum-
bleness.

Second Letter

MY Dear Brother, for the money you have received, assure yourself (for it is true) there is nothing I spend so pleaseth me, as that which is for you. If ever I have ability, you will find it, if not, yet shall not any brother living be better beloved than you of me. I cannot write now to H. White, do you excuse me. For his nephew, they are but passions in my father, which we must bear with reverence; but I am sorry he should return till he had the circuit of his travel, for you shall never have such a servant as he would prove; use your own discretion therein. For your countenance, I would for no cause have it diminished in Germany; in Italy your greatest expense must be upon worthy men, and not upon householding. Look to your diet (sweet Robin) and hold up your heart in courage and virtue; truly, great part of my comfort is in you. I know not myself what I meant by bravery in you, so greatly you may see I condemn you; be careful of yourself, and I shall never have cares. I have written to Mr. Savile, I wish you kept still together, he is an excellent man; and there may if you list pass good exercises betwixt you and Mr. Nevyle, there is great expectation of you both. For the method of writing history, Boden hath written at large; you may read him and gather out of many words

Sidney some matter. This I think in haste, a story
 to his to be considered as a story, or as a treatise
 Brother besides that, addeth many things for pro-
 Robert ornament: as a story, he is nothing but a record
 of things done, with the beginnings, causes, and
 appendances thereof: in that kind your business
 must be to have "*feriem temporum*" exactly, which the chronologies of Melancthon, Tarchagnota, Languet, and such others, will teach
 you to. Then to consider by that . . . as you do
 yourself, Xenophon to follow Thucydides, and
 doth Thucydides follow Herodotus, and Livy
 follows Siculus follow Xenophon: so generally
 Roman stories follow the Greek, and the
 modern stories of present monarchies follow
 the Roman. In that kind you have principally
 the examples of virtue and vice, with the
 good or evil successes, the establishment or ruin
 of great estates, with the causes, the time, and
 circumstances of the laws then written, the
 enterings and endings of wars, and the
 stratagems against the enemy, and the discipline
 upon the soldier; and thus much as a viceroy
 or historiographer. Besides this, the historian
 may be himself a discourser for profit, and an orator
 or a poet, sometimes for ornament. An orator
 making excellent orations "*e re nata*," which
 are to be marked, but marked with the notable
 historical remembrances: a poet, in painting
 the effects, the motions, the whisperings

people, which though in disputation one might Sidney
say were true, yet who will mark them well, to his
shall find them taste of a poetical vein, and in Brother
that kind are gallantly to be marked: for though Robert
perchance they were not so, yet it is enough
they might be so. The last point which tends to
teach profit is of a discourser, which name I give
to whosoever speaks, "*non simpliciter de facto,*
sed de qualitatibus et circumstantiis facti;" and
that is it which makes me and many others rather
note much with our pen than our mind, because
we leave all these discourses to the confused trust
of our memory, because they being not tied to
the tenor of a question, as philosophers use some-
times places; the divine, in telling his opinion
and reasons in religion; sometimes the lawyer, in
showing the causes and benefits of laws; some-
times a natural philosopher, in setting down the
causes of any strange thing, which the story
binds him to speak of: but most commonly a
moral philosopher, either in the ethic part, when
he sets forth virtues or vices, and the natures of
passions, or in the politic, when he doth (as he
often doth) meddle sententiously with matters
of estate. Again, sometimes he gives precept of
war, both offensive and defensive, and so, lastly,
not professing any art, as his matter leads him,
he deals with all arts, which because it carrieth
the life of a lively example, it is wonderful what
light it gives to the arts themselves, so as the

Sidney great civilians help themselves with the
 to his courses of the historians; so do soldiers, and
 Brother philosophers and astronomers: but that
 Robert herein, is this, that when you read any such
 you straight bring it to his head, not only of the
 art, but by your logical subdivisions, to the
 member and parcel of the art. And so, to
 table, be it witty words, of which Tacitus
 sentences, of which Livy; or similitudes, of which
 Plutarch; straight to lay it up in the right
 of his storehouse, as either military, or more
 pecially defensive military, or more parti-
 defensive by fortification, and so lay it
 likewise in politic matters, and such a little
 you may easily make, wherewith I would
 you ever join the historical part, which
 the example of some stratagem, or good
 counsel, or such like. This write I to you in
 haste, of method without method, but with
 leisure and study (if I do not find some
 that satisfies), I will venture to write more
 of it unto you. Mr. Savile will with ease
 you to set down such a table or remem-
 to yourself, and for your sake I perceive
 do much, and if ever I be able I will do
 it of him; one only thing, as it comes in
 mind, let me remember you of, that you consider
 wherein the historian excelleth, and that
 as Dion Nicæus, in the searching the secret
 government; Tacitus, in the pithy opening

venom of wickedness; and so of the rest. My time, exceedingly short, will suffer me to write no more leisurely: Stephen can tell you who stands with me while I am writing. Now (dear brother), take delight likewise in the mathematical; Mr. Savile is excellent in them. I think you understand the sphere; if you do, I care little for any astronomy in you. Arithmetic and geometry, I would wish you well seen in, so as both in matter of number and measure you might have a feeling and active judgement; I would you did bear the mechanical instruments, wherein the Dutch excel. I write this to you as one, that for myself have given over the delights in the world, but wish to you as much, if not more, than to myself. So you can speak and write Latin, not barbarously, I never require great study in Ciceronianism, the chief abuse of Oxford, "*qui dum verba fectantur, res ipsas negligunt.*" My toyful books I will send, with God's help, by February, at which time you shall have your money: and for £200 a year, assure yourself, if the estates of England remain, you shall not fail of it: use it to your best profit. My Lord of Leicester sends you forty pounds, as I understand by Stephen, and promiseth he will continue that stipend yearly at the least, then that is above commons; in any case write largely and diligently unto him, for in troth I have good proof that he means to be every way good unto you; the odd £30

Sidney
to his
Brother
Robert

Sidney shall come with the hundred, or else my fa
to his and I will jarl. Now, sweet brother, take a
Brother light to keep and increase your music, you
Robert not believe what a want I find of it in my m
ancholy times. At horsemanship, when you
ercise it, read Crison Claudio, and a book
is called "La gloria del' Cavallo," withal that
may join the thorough contemplation of it v
the exercise; and so shall you profit more
month than others in a year, and mark the
ting, saddling, and curing of horses. I would
the way your worship would learn a better ha
you write worse than I, and I write evil enou
once again, have a care of your diet, and co
quently of your complexion; remember, "
tior est veniens in pulchro corpore virtus." N
Sir, for news, I refer myself to this bearer, he
tell you how idle we look on at our neighb
fires, and nothing is happened notable at ho
save only Drake's return, of which yet I kn
not the secret points; but about the world
hath been, and rich he is returned. Portugal
say is lost: and to conclude, my eyes are aln
closed up, overwatched with tedious busin
God bless you, sweet boy, and accomplish
joyful hope I conceive of you. Once again co
mend me to Mr. Nevyle, Mr. Savile, and hor
Harry Whyte, and bid him be merry. When
play at weapons, I would have you get th
caps and brasers, and play out your play lust

for indeed ticks and dalliances are nothing in earnest, for the time of the one and the other greatly differs, and use as well the blows as the thrust: it is good in itself, and besides exerciseth your breath and strength, and will make you a strong man at the tourney and barriers. First in any case practise the single sword, and then with the dagger; let no day pass without an hour or two such exercise: the rest study, or confer diligently, and so shall you come home to my comfort and credit. Lord! how I have babbled: once again farewell, dearest brother. Your most loving and careful brother,

Philip Sidney.

At Leicester House,
this 18th of October, 1580.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

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The letters of Languet to Philip Sidney were first collected and printed at Frankfort in 1633. In 1646 they were published by the Elzevirs at Leyden under the title of "*Huberti Langueti Epistolæ Politicae et Historicae ad Philippum Sydnæum.*" They were reprinted by Lord Hailes at Edinburgh in 1776. But, with the exception of some extracts made by Zouch in his *Life of Sidney*, they were not translated into English until 1845, when Steuart A. Pears, M.A., Fellow of Christ Church College, Oxford, published his very full edition in "*The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney and Hubert Languet, Now First Collected and Translated from the Latin with Notes and a Memoir of Sidney.*" The text of this work has been adopted in the present volume. Of the seventeen letters from Sidney which it also contains, the last three in the series were discovered in the Public Library at Zurich, in the year 1842. These were translated into English for a publication of the Parker Society, and Pears was permitted to embody them in his own work. The rest of Sidney's letters, including the one addressed to his friend and travelling companion, the Count of Hannau, were discovered by Pears himself in the Public Library at Hamburg, to which he traced them through their description

blio- in the catalogue of a former, private, owner. Five
raph- of these letters are only copies; the others, like
al those at Zurich, are said to be originals. Pears'
ote long and interesting Memoir, together with his
minute notes, has been of use to the present
editor in his briefer introduction; while, for ad-
ditional details of Languet's life, he is indebted
to "Hubert Languet," by Henri Chevreul, Paris,
1856.

W. A. B.



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